FULL REPORT

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

INTERNATIONAL
WORKERS' CONGRESS

LONDON,

JULY AND AUGUST, 1896.

International Socialist Congress
4th, London, 1896

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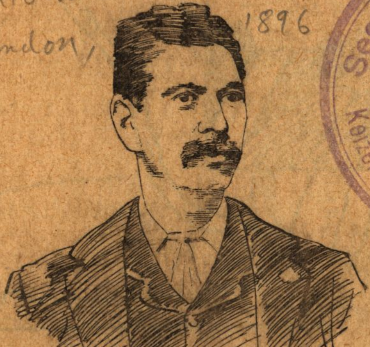

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INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' CONGRESS.

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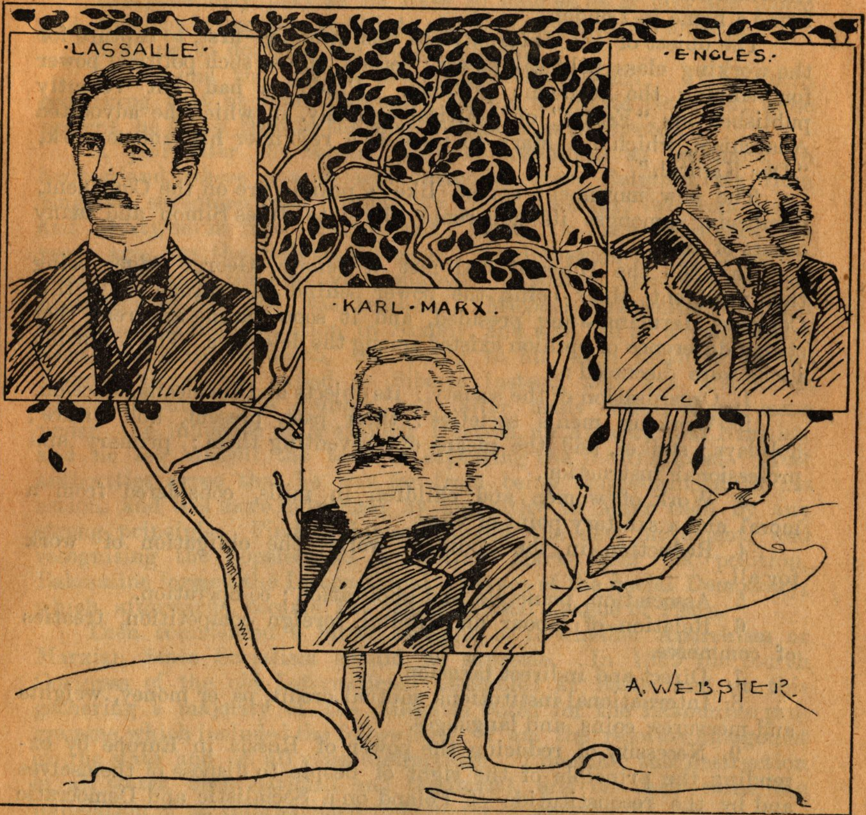


HISTORICAL.

The International Socialist Congress is not a new event in the development of the Labour movement. In 1864 the old International Working Men's Association was formed in London, the first meeting, it is worthy of note, being held in what was then the St. Martin's Town Hall, of which the present hall, where it was originally arranged the present Congress should meet, is the successor.

Karl Marx was the chief mover, and with him were associated the late George Odger, the leading representative of trade-unionism in London at that time; W. Randall Cremer, who has since developed into the bourgeois secretary of the Peace Association; Hermann Jung, a Swiss; George Ecarrius, a German, and others of lesser note. The revolutionary movement of the Continent had passed through its baptism of fire in 1848-9, and among the founders of the International, in addition to Marx, were various refugees who had found a home in London.

The object of the International was twofold—first, to capture for the working class political power; second, to use such political power for solving the economic problem. Proudhon had but recently published his "Essays" on political economy, in which he advocated Anarchism, which led Marx to issue as a rejoinder his famous work, "Das Kapital."

The new movement spread like a prairie fire on the Continent, numbering amongst its adherents the late Jules Simon and many others of note.

In 1866 the International met at Geneva, George Odger being then president, Marx being the power behind the throne. At this Congress Hermann Jung presided, and it soon became apparent that strong difference of opinion existed among the delegates. The following items were discussed:

1. Organisation of the society: its objects and its means of action.
2. Working men's societies: their past, present, and future; holidays; strikes, and the means of preventing them; primary and professional instruction.
3. Work of women and children in mills, considered from a moral and a sanitary point of view.
4. Reduction in the hours of work; the obligation of work for all.
5. Association, principle and application; co-operation.
6. Relation of labour and capital, foreign competition, treaties of commerce.
7. Direct and indirect taxation.
8. International institutions, mutual credit, pa er money, weights and measures, coins, and languages.
9. Necessity of reducing the power of Russia in Europe by extending the principle of the right of people to dispose of themselves and by the reconstitution of Poland on a Socialistic and Democratic base.
10. Standing armies, in relation to production.
11. Religious ideas: their influence on social, political, and intellectual movements.
12. Establishment of a society for mutual help, support of orphans.

To this programme, which had emanated from London, the French delegates submitted an alternative as follows:

No interest to be charged for money lent.
No obstacles in the way of free exchanges.
No one shall refuse to work.
No public schools, no gratuitous and compulsory education.

Liberty for anyone to teach.

A common rule for all co-operative societies.

Study much before a strike.

Direct taxation.

An armed people: no professional troops.

Everyone may pray as he likes so long as he is just and moral and does not bring "his god" into the workshop and the auberge.

Nothing to do with the Polish question.

In the end the French programme was carried. It is worth remarking that at this Congress a motion to invite Garibaldi to be present, he being then in the neighbourhood, was rejected.

A year later the second Congress assembled at Lausanne, in Switzerland, where one delegate attended from Belgium, six from England, seventeen from France, six from Germany, two from Italy, and thirty-seven from Switzerland. Cæsar De-Pape, who died two years ago, was the Belgian delegate. The discussion was much on the same lines as at the previous Congress. It was at Lausanne that the beginning of the end was reached. Michael Bakounine, who had taken part in the revolution in Saxony, and who had as a consequence been condemned to death, but owing to his high relatives at the Russian Court was exiled to Siberia instead, and was afterwards smuggled out of the country, had, after many vascillations, come under the influence of Alexander Hertzen, an Agnostic and Nihilist, and he set himself the task of capturing the International. Most authorities agree that he was far from being single-minded in his action, and was more influenced by antipathy to Marx than by any strong principle. Finding himself outside the new movement, and recognising the hopelessness of ousting Marx from his position, Bakounine formed the International Alliance of the Social Democracy, which afterwards became the International League of Peace.

Then commenced a bitter struggle as to whether Anarchism or Marxian State Socialism should be supreme. In 1869 the fourth Congress of the old International assembled at Basle, and at this gathering a majority of the delegates voted for the Bakounine programme, which included the following: "I am the resolute antagonist of the state and of all class distinctions. I demand the destruction of all states, both national and territorial, and on their ruins the foundation of an international community of workers."

The fifth Congress was held at The Hague, and here Bakounine could not be present, as, having been exiled from French and German territory, and being at the time resident in Switzerland, he was unable to reach Holland without crossing one or other of the countries named. As a result the Marxists found themselves supreme. But Bakounine had his revenge, as he called the next Congress under the auspices of the Federation of the Jura at Geneva. Here Bakounine and his followers triumphed all along the line. Meanwhile the International had been put down in France, and although its members took part in the Commune of 1872, it may be said to have died with the Jura Congress.

Nothing more was done by the Marxists in the way of International Congresses until 1888, when a gathering, convened by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, at the instigation of the *Parti Ouvrier* of France, met at St. Andrew's Hall, London. It was there agreed to hold the next Congress at Paris in 1889. A dispute arose between the Possiblists of Paris and the Marxists as to who should have the honour of convening the gathering, and the result was that two Congresses were held—at which, however, it may be noted, the resolutions passed were practically identical. It was here that the May-day gatherings were first recommended. William Morris, Cunninghame Graham, John Burns, H. M. Hyndman, Mrs. Besant, and J. Keir Hardie were among the British delegates. The total number of delegates attending the two Paris Congresses was about 800. The next gathering was fixed at Brussels in 1891, when some 350 delegates were present. Dr. Merlino was conducted by the police to the frontier on account of his being an Anarchist. In 1893 the Congress again assembled at Zurich, the number of delegates present being about the same. At Zurich more trade unions were represented from this country than had ever been the case before, and the Anarchists, who had been in evidence at all the gatherings named above, were specially so at Zurich, and in the end were expelled. The I. L. P. was also represented.

It will be noticed from this brief and necessarily cursory review of the past history of the movement that from the beginning the present-day struggle between state and anti-state action has been going on. It largely resolves itself into a matter of personal antagonism. Each side is determined to give no point to the other. To the observer it is evident that could the personal element be eliminated Anarchist and State Socialist could meet and discuss their respective doctrines with the most perfect goodwill. It is also matter of common notoriety that the differences which separate the two schools at this stage of the struggle for economic freedom are more fancied than real. There is a strong suspicion—which is becoming more than a suspicion—that the wire-pulling and intrigue of the State Socialist Party, especially the German section and their London allies in connection with the present Congress may wreck the entire advanced movement. So long as the Congress is called a "Socialist and Trade-Union Congress" it should be open to all sections of the Labour movement. If it is desired to make it a State Socialist Congress, the fact ought to be clearly stated and the Congress convened as such. For one section of the movement, because for the moment it happens to be the majority, to lord it over their fellows is to introduce the worst elements of the present system into a movement destined for its overthrow.

What the future organisation of society may be it is impossible to say, and the Socialist Party, with its motto of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," ought to be wide enough and broad enough to embrace every section of the advanced movement which seeks by any means the overthrow of the present system and the introduction of the industrial commonwealth.

THE ZURICH RESOLUTION.

At the Zurich Congress, after the Libertarian Socialists had been evicted, the following resolution was carried as a standing order for the 1896 Congress, moved by Herr Bebel, seconded by Dr. Adler, of Austria:

> All Trade Unions shall be admitted to the Congress; also those Socialist parties and Organisations which recognise the necessity of the organisation of the workers and of political action;
>
> By "political action" is meant that the working-class organisations seek, as far as possible, to use or conquer political rights and the machinery of legislation, for the furthering of the interests of the proletariat and the conquest of political power.

The day following the adoption of this Bebel added a further explanation, which was accepted by the Congress, to the effect that:

> **The addition proposed does not say by any means that everyone who comes to the Congress should be obliged to take part in political action under al circumstances and in all details of our definition. It claims only the acknowledgment of the labourer's right to use such of the political rights of their country which, in their opinion, are for the promotion of the interests of the labouring classes, and to constitute themselves as a political Independent Labour Party.**

It is important to bear this in mind, as it is over this resolution that all the trouble arose the first two days of the London Congress. It may be well to bear in mind also that no Anarchist society or group sought admission to the Congress, since Anarchists do not agree with the principle of representation, being Individualists of the most pronounced type. The societies admitted were Communists, who believe in Free Communism but not in State Socialism. These things remembered will enable the reader to understand what follows.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE DEMONSTRATION, LONDON, 26th JULY, 1896.

I.

THE angel host that woke the hallowed night
  With proclamation of goodwill and peace,
  Like white birds winging over endless seas
Come flagging onwards, wearied with the flight
Across war-wasted centuries. Sad sight
  That greets their search—continuous increase
  Of spite and tumult, envy and caprice,
And new horizons never touched with light.
Has God then fooled us and the world, they cry,
  That no fulfilment crowns the hope He sent
Us forth to utter? Is His word a lie,
  Sterile His power to compass His intent,
  That war's tumultuous murder sees us spent
And mocks our unavailing embassy?

II.

If this be glory, let us pray for shame;
This glory of the shambles. They who sought
The fabulous power that on base metals wrought
A golden change, were wise to those who aim
By any alchemy, from sword and flame,
Havoc and bloodshed and mad ruin brought
On smiling lands in war's confusion caught,
To bring forth honour. Lured by this false flame,
Slayer and slain lie festering in the sun,
Who had no quarrel, while for every one,
Mother and lovers, babes and stricken wives
In far-off hamlets weeping, celebrate
With multitudinous moan of orphaned lives
The glory that has left them desolate.

III.

Not for a mad king's pride, a harlot's nod,
We desecrate the smiling earth to-day.
Ours is an even more ignoble way;
The covetous bondholder is our god,
Dispensing death, the meanest that ere trod
Over the hearts of men, to have his way;
Stinging the nations into strife for pay,
Reaping new markets from the blood-sown sod.
No passionate impulse his, whole-hearted hate,
Hunger for fame, adventurous spirit high,
Whose glamour of romance half hides their sin;
But cold, commercial, careful of his skin,
Our bloodworm crawls and kills insatiate,
Sliming his serpent track with piety.

IV.

Come thou, before whose face these terrors cease,
Lord of the gentler heart, the nobler brain,
Take from our brows the livid mark of Cain
Smeared with our brother's blood; come stately Peace,
From the brute body we implore release,
Full stature and true shape of men to gain
At thy magician touch, men strong and sane
To understand and cherish and increase
Judgment and reason, and those heights to climb
Whereon the heroic and aspiring soul,
Wrestling for hard-won honour, may acquire
An ampler fame and laurels more sublime
In nobler fields of combat, where the goal
Is Truth and Justice and the world's desire.

FRED. HENDERSON.

THE PEACE DEMONSTRATION.

At 11.30 a.m. on Sunday there was not the slightest sign on the embankment that anything out of the ordinary was about to take place, the only item of interest being a coster with his barrow containing some suspicious commodity disguised as ice-cream, and who swore fiercely in as many different languages as would qualify him at least for interpreter at the International Congress at the police interference.

About 11.45, however, a sign appeared in the shape of two horny-handed 'uns with corduroy trousers on (every other seam full of plaster), and sweating beneath the load of a large banner and poles to match. The sound of martial music was also heard, notifying the approach of other contingents, as one by one they came from all quarters of the compass in regular order to take the places allotted to them. Every contingent had its banner, as every contingent in London always has.

First there came the United Radical Club contingent and banner, with portraits of Cobden and Bright, with a band of forty performers playing "'E dunno where 'e are." They were followed by the Bethnal Green *Independent* Radical Club and banner, with an English, Irish, and Scotchman (the Irishman being the dead spit of Jim Connell) swearing eternal loyalty to the Radical cause. (I think the Welshman has a grievance here.) After them came the glass bevellers and banner, with a motto of "Capital and Labour Reconciled," and as they took up their position opposite, the rays of the noonday sun distributed itself on the left lug of the Sphinx's wig and across one corner of its mouth, giving a close observer the impression that he thoroughly enjoyed the joke.

Previous to this, and some time before the crowd commenced to gather, I noticed John Burns walking slowly along in the direction of Blackfriars, and being anxious to speak to him I for a moment deserted my post, mounted my wreck of a bike, and followed. For a long time I searched for John in vain, but at last I discovered him behind the buttress of the bridge watching the contingents filing past, and none so poor as to do him honour, save and except the National Municipal Labour Union, with their banner displaying John's photo and headed by a band playing Gus Elen's latest song, "It's a great big shame," which they continued to play opposite the Sphinx. By this time I had begun to entertain a very great respect for that Sphinx's opinion, and—would you believe it?—as I stood beneath the pedestal I fancied I heard him chuckle distinctly.

By this time all the contingents had arrived, and were rapidly filing into order before starting, with the Clarion Cycling Scouts assembled underneath Charing Cross Bridge keeping up a jingling accompaniment of bells to every band that passed them, and there was just a sign of the slightest shade of weariness creeping over the features of the Sphinx.

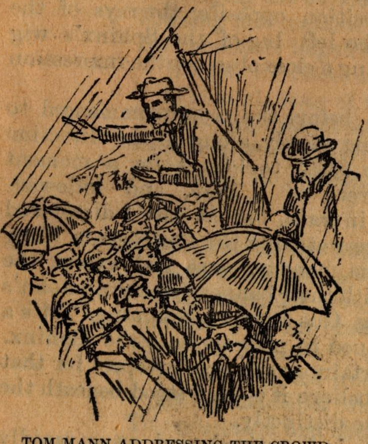
At half-past twelve prompt the signal was given to start, and away went the procession in grand style, headed by a marshal on a white horse in a get-up most wonderful to behold—a kind of compromise between Dr. Jim and a brewer's drayman. It was a pleasing sight to see the earnestness and enthusiasm of this vast multitude of workers, and as I timed them passing a given point I could not help speaking my thoughts aloud. 'Tis a pity these people, for their own sakes, don't know their power and how to exercise it as well in other directions as displayed on this occasion under the very shadow of the walls of Westminster, where the shackles are forged that bind them, and a jolly good job for the forgers that their victims are so ignorant.

As the tail-end of the vast procession (taking exactly one hour to pass) filed past the Sphinx, and disappeared round the corner, I almost fancied I detected the stolid figure indulging in a monumental wink, while a "They've-been-here-before-many-a-time" expression gradually spread itself over its stony features.

Will Thorne acted as chief marshal, and had everything timed with the regularity and punctuality of a well-going clock.

In the Park.

The rain commenced to fall just as the head of the procession reached Hyde Park Corner. All the way from Charing Cross the route had lain through Clubland, but "London" was not in town, and so the loungers at the club windows were few. Those who were, smiled inanely, but there was no hostile demonstration. But what memories the route recalled! Here was Trafalgar Square, where, in 1887, Cunninghame-Graham and John Burns had their heads broken and poor Linnell was killed—and all because they wanted to protest against coercion in Ireland. "Bloody Sunday" it was indeed. There, too, at the corner is the United Service Club, where in '86 the young bloods so incensed the unemployed during a procession that they smashed the windows. A little further and we turn the corner where H. H. Champion on that occasion ran full tilt against his father, who in his capacity as a general of the army had been sent for to aid in quelling the riot in which his son was taking a man's part. Past the War Office, and then Marlborough House, the town house of the Prince of Wales. Then through the palatial residences and gorgeous shops which line Piccadilly. Surely if anything were needed to awaken the worker from his torpor it were to contrast these residences of wealth owners with those of the wealth producers. The

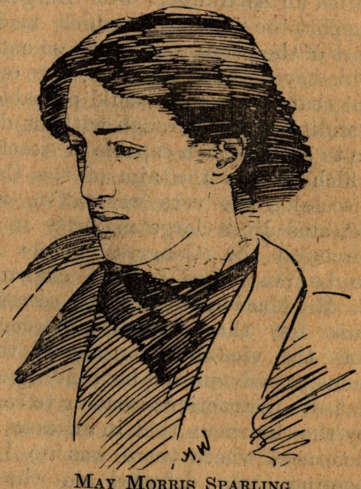

TOM MANN ADDRESSING THE CROWD.

'bus traffic was not stopped, and every few minutes the procession has to halt at Hyde Park Corner to allow the 'buses to go on. It is not so when there is a military procession to welcome a war lord from Germany.

But at length the last banner had passed under the arch, and only the Clarion cyclists were left outside, cheering for Keir Hardie and the Social Revolution. But, oh, that rain! It came down in bucketfuls. Tom Mann doffed his hat, and spoke out straight for international peace and fraternity. The banners were converted into tents, the people huddled together for a time, but the rain was merciless, and soon there was a stampede. "Let's have three cheers for international solidarity," said Tom, when Paul Lafargue, more farmer-like than ever, had spoken a few sentences. "Off with your hats—cheer!" said he, the rain dripping from his own locks. The cheers went up, and ere the sound had died away a blinding flash of lightning leaped from the black cloud overhead, and soon the heavens reverberated to a clap of thunder—a truly dramatic finish. Then began the long, weary trudge home. From Canning Town came a large contingent of Keir's old constituents. They had started at nine in the morning and marched ten miles, and now had a similar distance to do to get home. And there were two of them who had been in the Chartist movement. Surely such zeal deserves a great reward.

THE RECEPTION.

Three spacious rooms had been chartered at the Horse Shoe Hotel, Tottenham Court Road, in which to formally receive the delegates on Sunday evening. The afternoon's thunderstorm had the effect of somewhat thinning the attendance, as some of the delegates were in bed whilst their only suit was a-drying. Many of those present were in borrowed garments, which did not always add to their dignity. As the evening wore on the throng increased, and by ten o'clock the gathering was large and brilliant. Liebknecht was early on the scene, and seemed to know and be known of all. Lucien Sanial and Mat Maguire — the latter being the S.L.P. nominee for the Vice-Presidency of the United States—made many friends. Henry Pollak and his colleagues from Holland, Jaures, Lafargue, Guesde, and Vaillant from France renewed old friendships and formed new. Herren Bebel and Singer, with the well-disciplined members of



MAY MORRIS SPARLING.

their delegation, were also present for a time. Most of the British delegates were there also. Unfortunately William Morris could not be there, owing to bad health. May Morris Sparling—Morris's daughter—attracted much attention as she moved from group to group chatting pleasantly with all—by far the most queenly figure in the rooms. Rossetti's fair Damozel lives again in her mother's daughter. W. C. Steadman, as chairman of the organising committee, spoke a few words of welcome, but otherwise there was no set speech-making. The evening passed off pleasantly, and gave the delegates a good chance of getting to know each other before beginning the rough-and-tumble work of the week.

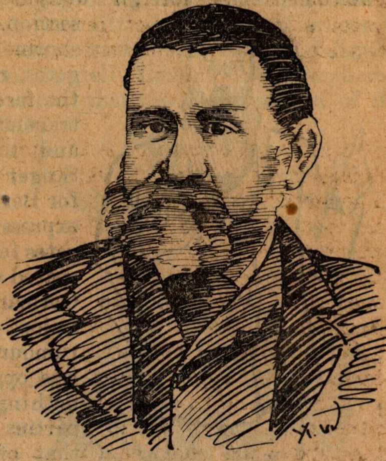
I. L. P. CONCLAVE.

At eight o'clock most of the I. L. P. delegates withdrew from the reception for a time, to have a talk over their action on the morrow. The meeting was hurriedly convened by word of mouth, and so some did not know of it, whilst others had not then arrived. Mr. George Shipton procured a large room in the Cranbourne, and thither the I. L. P. ers repaired to the number of 120. Keir Hardie presided, and suggested they should first consider their attitude towards those Socialists seeking admission to the Congress who did not practise political action, but who did not object to others being parliamentarians. It might be alleged, he said, that if they supported these people's claims that they were sympathising with Anarchists. For his part he was more afraid of doing an unfair thing towards a body of Socialists with whom he did not see eye to eye than he was of being called an Anarchist. Joe Burgess moved that the I. L. P. delegates support the resolution which made Parliamentary action a necessary part of the propaganda of those entitled to be admitted to the Congress. This having been seconded, was opposed by Tom Mann, who pointed out that an attempt would probably be made next morning to rush the standing orders through without discussion, the effect of which would be to exclude men capable of teaching us much concerning Socialism, which it was the aim of the Congress to spread. After a general discussion the vote was taken, when Mr Burgess's resolution was defeated by a large majority in favour of one to hear the question discussed by Congress before deciding. Tom Mann was selected to be nominated for the chairmanship of the British section and J. R. Macdonald for the secretaryship. Pete Curran was to be run for the Standing Orders Committee and Keir Hardie for the vice-chairmanship of the Congress. None of the resolutions passed were to be binding on individual delegates, as some had definite instructions relating to certain matters. It was recommended by the chairman that in all cases the I. L. P. vote should go to S. D F. nominees where there was no I. L. P. candidate, or where the I. L. P. nominee was defeated on the first ballot, though, as he pointed out, they need not expect the S. D. F. to vote for their nominees—a forecast which the events of Monday verified to the letter.

THE CONGRESS.

DESCRIPTIVE REPORT.

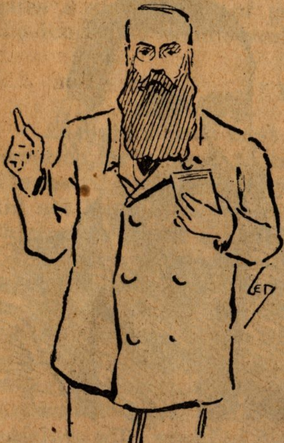
It was originally intended to hold the Congress in St. Martin's Town Hall, Charing Cross Road, but owing to the increased number of delegates—over eight hundred—Queen's Hall, Langham Place, was chosen instead. Queen's Hall is one of the finest meeting places in Great Britain. Built in the form of an amphitheatre it seats comfortably 10,000 people. The rent for the week was £200. The large floor space of this beautiful hall was used exclusively for delegates, the galleries being open to the general public, a charge being made for admission. The delegates were about equally divided into British and foreign. British trade unions (198), Independent Labour Party (115), Social Democratic Federation (120), Zurich Committee (12), Fabian and Unattached Socialist Groups (27), total, 472. Separate tables were reserved for each nationality and the different parties in each nationality. At eleven o'clock on Monday morning, the hour arranged for formally opening Congress, all the delegates were present excepting the French section. The French comrades having met an hour previous to make arrangements for the conduct of their business during the week as a nation had become so engrossed in discussion that Congress, after waiting till 11.30, proceeded to business in their absence. In the interval of waiting selections were given on the great organ, and the "Marseillaise" was sung over and over again in chorus. Three rousing cheers were given for the Social Revolution.



EDWARD COWEY.

No one looking on could fail to be impressed with the potentiality and picturesqueness of the Congress. It is the greatest of any yet held in point of number and influence. That the general public shared this view could be easily seen in the large attendance in the galleries and in the formidable array of press representatives at the tables. Several journalists, among them the veteran Morrison Davidson, expressed the opinion that at no public meeting in their experience had they seen so many pressmen—a fact which constitutes a hopeful index to the measure of public interest shown in the progress of Socialism. The long table stretching from one side of the hall to the other was literally crowded with representatives of the world's newspapers. One had only to be minutes among the delegates to feel convinced that, however much they might differ in opinion and method, all their faces alike were set towards the same rising sun.

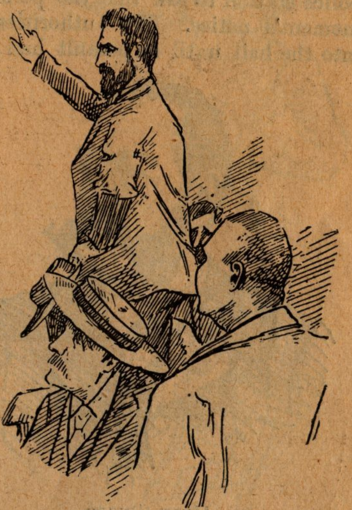
Edward Cowey, of the British Miners' Federation, and chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, presided. Amongst those on the platform were Liebknecht (German Reichstag), Singer (German Reichstag), Will Thorne (secretary Organising Committee), Dr. Aveling and Mrs. Marx Aveling, Vanderveldt, Belgium, and Tom Mann. In his speech the chairman, who, by the way, was not looking well, said he would be glad if some concerted action arose out of the Congress. In conclusion, he welcomed the foreign delegates in the name of the British section. The first sign of enthusiasm was shown at this point, and the British delegates, rising to their feet, heartily cheered the foreigners. The chairman's speech was translated to the Germans by Liebknecht and to the French by Adolphe Smith. Singer (one of the three Socialist members for Berlin), replying for the Germans, after expressing the regret which his fellow-delegates felt that Friedrich Engels had not been spared to open the Congress, said that the German party was a political and a trade-union party. Then, as if to allay sundry rumours in Britain that the German party was opportunist, he affirmed that they had nothing in common with the bourgeoise parties. They knew of only one alliance—that of the world's workers against their foes. Vanderveldt, in reply to the welcome, gave a splendid speech, beautifully delivered. Intonation, gestures, and temperament were perfect. He warmly wished that delegates would forget to what nation they belonged, and remember only their common brotherhood. Vaillant (French Deputy and soldier of the Commune), grey and rugged, also replied. He said that the Hyde Park Demonstration on Sunday was a unique proof of the heartiness of their British welcome. It was a welcome from a nation which was unique in having acquired political freedom for the workers.



INTERPRETER A. SMITH.
"As the delegate *rightly* says."

—o—

Every speech or remark has to be translated into French and German, so that time is speedily absorbed, and for the same reason time is extraordinarily precious. There was a feeling of dismay then, when Dr. Aveling proceeded to make a series of intimations relating to fourpence-off-the-shilling restaurants and half-price music-halls for delegates. Said intimations were translated twice. Several telegrams with greetings were read, including one from William Morris, who was unfortunately too ill to attend, and the Hungarian Social Democrats. Very significant also was a letter from Transvaal workers assembled in Johannesburg. There was little time, therefore, to consider the standing orders before one o'clock, the hour fixed for concluding Monday's proceedings. As one o'clock neared the tension became keen for the anti-parliamentarians were anxious to know their fate. It was generally understood that the provisional orders would be moved *en bloc* before dispersing for the day. In the event of these being passed all discussion on the admission or exclusion of anti-parliamentarians would be burked, for No. 11 reads thus: "*No amendment to standing orders or the arrangement of the agenda shall be accepted or discussed after Monday.*" The chairman drew attention to the fact that if the standing orders were passed *en bloc* it would destroy a commission which was sitting the same afternoon to discuss such amendments, but the German and several English delegates cried for an immediate vote. Wm. Parnell (London Cabinetmakers), who spoke in English and French, moved that the consideration of the standing orders be adjourned till Tuesday morning. This was seconded. The anti-parliamentarians, however, were determined to have an opportunity of speaking, and here arose a scene of much excitement. Malatesta had spoken but half a dozen words when the chairman's bell was brought into requisition.



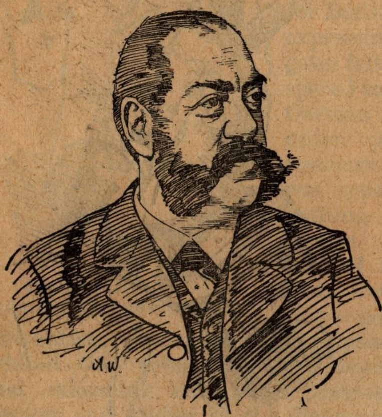
Congress Scene—
Malatesta demands to be heard.

For a while it was a struggle between bell and voice. Then everybody seemed to speak at once. Even over-earnest souls in the gallery bawled down their sentiments. And the proprietor of the hall, adding to the confusion, threatened to clear them all out. Malatesta — short, dark, keen, firm—waited. In vain the chairman asked for order; equally fruitless was Singer's endeavour to inform Congress that the German delegation had agreed to accept the entire standing orders. It was Babel and Bedlam rolled into one. Christ Cornelissen, Dutch Socialistenbund and editor of *Recht Voor Allen*, went to speak from the platform, but was denied. Returning to his place in the hall beside Domela Nieuwenhuis, he addressed Congress in three languages. While he was speaking there was comparative quiet, but a disturbance at the platform stairs made matters wild as before. Delesalle, a French delegate for the Société en Instruments de Precision (mathematical instrument makers), having a weak voice, went to ask if he could be allowed to speak from the platform. Before he had received time to put he question Bouillon, a French interpreter, pale to the lips with excitement, hurled him down the stairs. A storm raged, and developments might have been more complex had not Mr.

Cowey, who had become comparatively helpless in the chair, announced the adjournment of Congress till Tuesday morning. Much resentment was shown at the brutal treatment of Delesalle, though it is but fair to add Bouillon afterwards apologised.

TUESDAY'S CONGRESS.

On Tuesday morning it was being whispered from lip to lip that the Marxists had made up their mind to put down an iron foot and expel by main force all who disagreed with them. It was noted that the galleries were closed against visitors and that stewards were thickly planted all round the hall. It was also known that Dr. Aveling had been to the police station to ask that the police should be ready to be called on at a moment's notice. The authorities would not, however, send constables into the hall until an assault had actually been committed. Fortunately wiser counsels prevailed, and the voting on the Standing Order, No. 11, over which all the trouble was anticipated, passed off without incident.



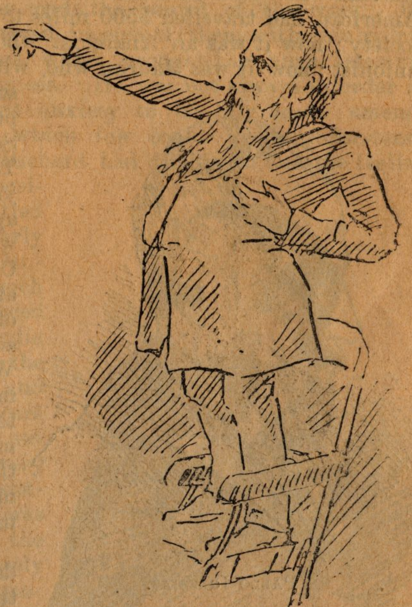
HERR SINGER.

There were rumours that a large section of the French delegation would insist on being carried out man by man if the Zurich resolution were strictly adhered to. The Marxist section of the French delegation threatened, on the other hand, to leave the Congress unless it were. By a little judicious management none of these things happened, and the proceedings were as tame as a Liberal Ministry ploughing the sands.

The chairman for the day was Herr Singer, a twenty stone imperturbable German, who understood three languages and made a most benevolent despot. The German legion, the English trade-unionists, and the I. L. P. helped matters by saying very little. Most of the other sections shouted pretty constantly, except the Russians, who would have done it if they had known what the matter was. There were no police in the hall, but a strong force of stewards.

Herr Singer started business by limiting speakers on the question under discussion to two a side and ten minutes each. Keir Hardie from the vice-chair put in an appeal for toleration for minorities, and then Jaurès rose to support the Zurich resolution. He was greeted with a tremendous cheer, and strongly urged the realisation of our ideal by Parliamentary action. After him rose Tom Mann, who had been worked up to fever-point by the numerous inquiries of kind friends, who wanted to know if he had become an Anarchist. He was nothing of the kind, he said, but he thought that in all fairness the Anti-parliamentarians should be represented there. In a very few minutes he was fairly out on the warpath, and urged toleration in one of his most fiery and vehement speeches. The Free Communists, he pointed out, had done and suffered much in the cause of the workers. Their aims were the same as ours, though their methods were not, and he thought the Congress should welcome all who were prepared to work for the reformation of society. In taking this view he appeared to have the support of the majority of I. L. P. delegates, though there were some prominent I. L. P. ers whose previously blameless lives made one surprised to hear them swear at it. These held that the same argument would admit the Salvation Army and perhaps even the Primrose League.

After him came H. M. Hyndman, mounted on a chair, holding out one arm like Moses when he subdued the Amalekites, He wanted to see business done. He was full of toleration for the Anarchist personally; indeed, he loved him. But Anarchists had no scruple about breaking up any meeting when it did not go their way. They were absolutely opposed to every method on which the Social Democrat wanted to work. How, then, could they confer together to any useful purpose? Some of his hits at past conduct by the Anarchist section nearly led to another riot.



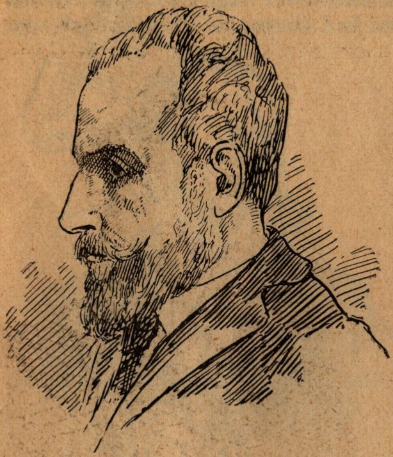
HYNDMAN ON DIGNITY.
"There's dignity for you."

Domela Nieuwenhuis followed on the Libertarian side, and said the Dutch Socialists would go quietly out if Congress decided against them. A grey-haired, noble-looking, reasonable man he is, whose only fault was a tendency to make too long a speech.

The vote showed that eighteen nations supported standing order No. 11, two opposed it (the French section by 57 votes to 56), one (Italy) was equally divided, and one did not vote (Servia). The eighteen included Dr. Aveling, who claimed to represent Australia. Great Britain had decided in its favour by over 100 majority.

It was so continually asserted by Mrs. Aveling that the Congress was voting on the Zurich resolution, which insists on the necessity of political action, that the real point at issue was largely lost sight of. The vote was really taken on Standing Order 11, which said that no amendment should be taken to the standing orders after Monday. This was fully discussed, however, in spite of the attempt to rush it through on Tuesday. The final indirect result was, of course, to maintain the Zurich resolution.

After lunch, close on 3 p.m., the Congress met again to hear all about the credentials. Inasmuch as every foreign delegate whose credential was rejected insisted on arguing and re-arguing the whole question from the beginning, the Congress was involved in a discussion of fearful length and dulness for the whole afternoon. Now it was a Russian who lived in Berne and desired to represent Russia; now an American had travelled 3500 miles to represent a sort of co-operative society; now it was an Anarchist who claimed to be there as a trade-unionist; now it was Jaurès, who, with Millerand and Richard, was a sort of French Fabian, and was present without credentials as a Socialist member of Parliament. The standing order which adjourned Congress at 5 p.m. disappeared somehow or other along, with most of the standing orders. Close on seven o'clock, after two attempts to get a vote on the case of Jaurès and Co., the chairman adjourned the proceedings to 2 p.m. Wednesday. The various commissions which had been elected to group and assimilate the immense number of resolutions on the agenda and reduce them to manageable dimensions were to meet in the morning.

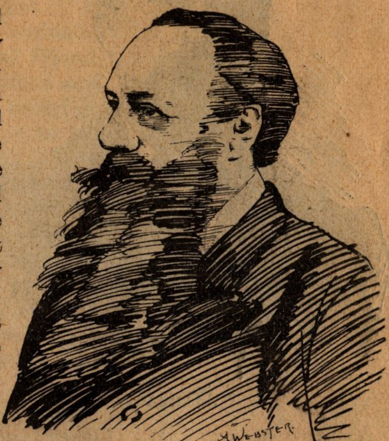


Pablo Iglesias.

The chief difficulty with Tuesday's business lay in the fact that the delegates had great uncertainty as to what their vote on each national report really implied. The noise was so incessant that the translators could not always be sure of the correctness of their version, and Mrs. Aveling made so free with her translations, and showed such a tendency to give uncalled-for directions, that the Englishmen were perplexed and distrustful. Neither those who wished to vote against the Anarchists nor those who wished to vote for them were quite sure how to do it. For instance, one reporter objected to certain delegates on the ground that they came from some merely "middle class" society. This brought up Bernard Shaw, who is always anxious to glorify the middle-classiness of the Fabians, who sat, twenty strong, under the dome. Someone else got up to explain Shaw, and they had all to be translated about four times.

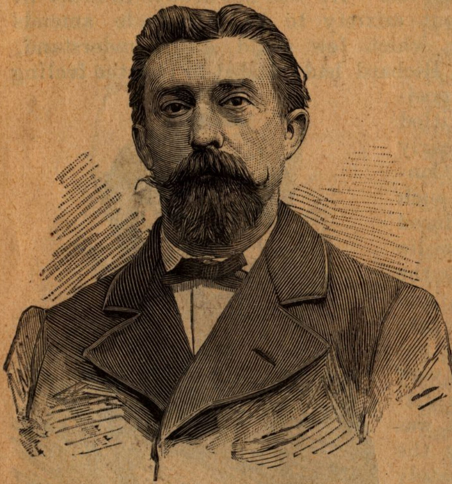
WEDNESDAY.

On Wednesday, 29th July, the Congress was still floundering round and round the credential question. We may say at once that but for Mr. Hyndman's ability, tact, and fairness this day's proceedings might easily have been disastrous. On the floor Mr. Hyndman is apt to surrender himself to a sort of narrow logic which makes him the Mahdi of English Socialism, and seems to believe that if he dies fighting he will go straight to the S. D. F. Paradise, wherever that may be. But in the chair he made the record of the week. He speaks three languages, and behaved in each of them with an absolute impartiality and kindly firmness which brought the huge assembly safely through a very dangerous sea. He was not always in order in his ruling, but his transparent anxiety to be fair made amends for much. For some reason which few could quite understand, Messieurs Jaurès, Guesde, and Richard had decided to test the feeling of Congress as to whether their position as Socialist Deputies entitled them to sit. After wasting nearly the whole morning they found Congress would not recognise any such mandate, and thereupon produced formal credentials. Keir Hardie moved that these be referred to the French section for verification, and James Connell seconded, taking care to say that once this matter was put in order the Congress would be very pleased to welcome them to its sittings. This friendly sentiment was received with loud cheers by the Frenchmen, who immediately adopted the reference by a large majority, and had already decided to receive the mandates.



H. M. Hyndman.

Sidney Olivier (Fabian) now proposed to pass on to the Commission reports, and Miss Morant moved that all the remaining reports on credentials be taken as read. But the reports from the Commissions were not yet ready, and reports from the Polish, Austrian, Hungarian, Czech, Danish, Swedish, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch delegations were put in. One Pole was under suspicion of being a police spy, and had refused to justify himself to his own countrymen, on the ground that they were frauds themselves. He was rejected by twelve nationalities to seven. Bohemia being geographically a part of Austria, it was moved to refer the Czech report to Austria, but this was not carried. One Hungarian mandate was purely nationalist, not Socialist, and rejected. One Dane was present from an Anarchist body called the Tolerance Club, and was rejected. The Italian reporter said the Socialist Party in that country had 25,000 members, and sent ten delegates. There were also ten Italian Anarchists present, of whom three came as trade-unionists. The remaining seven were excluded. Louise Michel and one of the seven wished to speak in protest, but in view of Tuesday's vote the chairman refused to hear them. In the midst of some disturbance the minority left the hall, and the report was adopted. There was a great waste of time over the Dutch report, ending in the admission of the Free Communists or Libertarians who were mostly trade-unionists.



ALLEMANE.

A strong discussion sprang up over the question of allowing the French delegation to divide into two parts. The British section did not understand this at first, and were inclined to treat it as trivial, but the chairman and Paul Singer urged that the matter was one of great importance to the French mind. Out of the 113 French delegates a small majority were adherents of the *Parti Ouvrier Socialistic Révolutionaire*(Revolutionary Socialist Workers' Party). This party has its main strength in the French Midlands and East, adopts Parliamentary action to go on with, but hopes to bring about a great Labour revolution, of which the first chapter is to be a huge general strike. Jean Allemane, who was present, is one of its best-known leaders. On the other side was a strong minority of what may be called the French Fabian Party, the Guesdists, independent Socialists such as Jaurès, and Radical Socialists of the type of Millerand, who believe in municipal and legislative evolution, and scout the idea of sudden changes in the social system. On Tuesday the Revolutionists, by a majority of one (57 to 56) had cast the French vote on the side of the anti-parliamentarians (so far as their admission to the Congress goes). This was regarded as intolerable by the moderate men, who now objected to sit with the others.

Keir Hardie thought it would save time if the question was adjourned until next morning, and the two sections meanwhile to confer one with another, and try to arrive at some understanding; but the chairman thought not. Millerand had already spoken, accusing the general strike men of using their trade-unionism merely as a cloak for their Anarchism, and being greeted with howls from those affected by the charge. Vandervelde (Belgium) had made a splendid speech against allowing a nation to split up, and urging the minority to submit. A paper had just been sent up to say that the French delegation had agreed to split, and the chairman now put the question, Should they be allowed to do so?

The Conference was tired of the whole business, and it was near seven o'clock. Permission was granted by fourteen nationalities to five, and the delegates went in search of something to eat. Thus were the standing orders overridden and violated, because the Marxists thereby secured another vote, as each section of the French delegation was now treated as a separate nationality.

THURSDAY.

Thursday's business was infinitely more interesting than the whole of the other three days put together. The Congress had at last decided on who were present and who were not. It had begun to get accustomed to the confusion of tongues, and a spirit of personal friendship between men of various nations and sections had spread through the meeting. The Anarchists were "excluded" — in the spirit, but not always in the flesh. They took no further part in the proceedings after Thursday afternoon. Nieuwenhuis and the members of the Dutch Socialist League formally withdrew on the plea that since Anarchists were not to be admitted as such the Congress was no longer representative of the entire movement. Nieuwenhuis and Cornelissen were at the press table for the rest of the time.

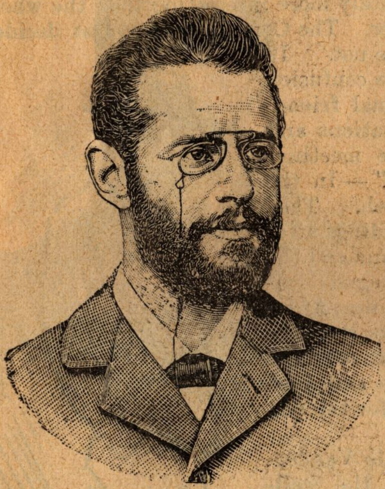
The chair was taken by Emile Vandervelde, Professor Enrico Ferri, the well-known Italian criminologist, occupying the vice-chair. The chairman said that an explanation of the French situation would be made, but not debated, and then gravely reminded the Congress that it had been sent there at the expense of millions of hungry toilers to do work, and not to thrash out useless questions.

After a resolution of sympathy with the suspended Socialist Mayor of Lille, Edouard Vaillant rose to say for the French majority that he and his friends were Revolutionary Communists who wished to use political power to bring the change about He contended that trade union delegates should not be questioned as to

A Dejected Libertarian.

whether they were Anarchists or not—a principle already endorsed by Congress. Allemane, the leader of the general strike party, followed to protest against the Zurich resolution being interpreted too narrowly. After this the Conference settled down to talk about agriculture.

A minority report of the Agricultural Commission had been issued by W. G. Pearson and Dr. Watt, urging certain specific reforms, such as socialisation of railways and markets and more technical education. This was not endorsed by the British section. The majority, however, contented themselves with an abstract resolution in favour of socialising the land along with all other instruments of production, pointing out that the conditions of the question in Europe were so various that they could not attempt as yet to draft an international programme applicable in all its details to every country. Thus Vandervelde pointed out that in England there were a few landowners with great estates, and in France and Belgium there were millions of owners with small estates. We were as yet only in the period of study as regards the agrarian question. Lafargue said it was more important for the workers to organise just now than to go into these details, and they were organising. He pointed out one delegate from a purely agricultural district, where they had an entire town council all Socialists, including the mayor.



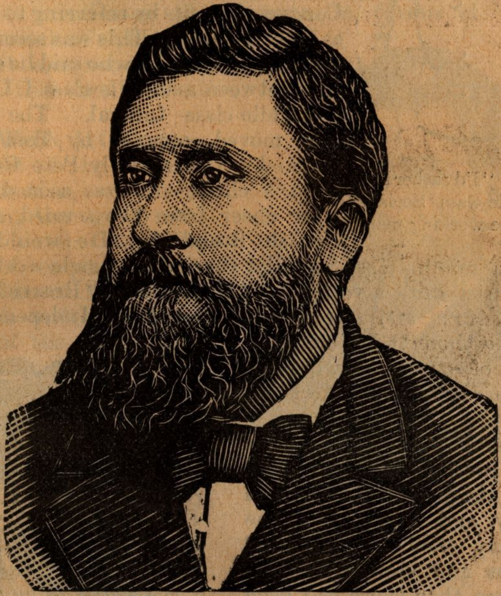
VANDERVELDE.

This was a long speech, and brought up Bernard Shaw to propose that all speakers, except reporters, be limited to three minutes. This, alas! was not carried. Schonland, chairman of the Commission, said they had state railways in Germany, and were not so much the better for it. In Prussia the landlords were themselves agitating to get the unemployed back to the land—their land. Soon afterwards the majority report was adopted by a large majority, and the morning sitting terminated.

In the afternoon the Congress was asked to take note of the fact that for the first time the workers of Russia were directly represented at an International. The Political Action Commission was then reported by George Lansbury. It called upon the workers to unite independently of all bourgeois political parties, and to demand Universal Adult Suffrage, One Adult One Vote, the Second Ballot, the power of National and Local Referendum and Initiative, the enfranchisement of women, and the autonomy of nations. Colonial extension was referred to the Commission on War.

One French delegate, Tortellier, had prepared a minority report against trusting to political action at all, and claimed that they were growing out of it in France. He urged that there should be a strike against rent, in order to put an end to landlordism. The delightful idea of living rent free threw the British and German delegates into fits of laughter, and Jaurès sprang to his feet to defend political action.

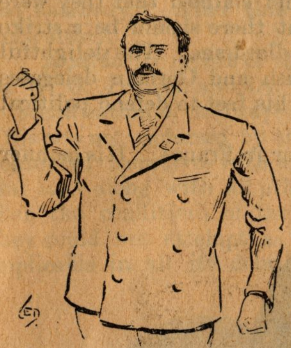
Jean Jaures is perhaps the greatest orator in France. His manner on the platform strikes the sober English mind as somewhat theatrical, but speaking from the floor this was not evident, and his thunderous eloquence worked the Congress to a fine enthusiasm. Burst after burst of applause followed him all through both speech and translations, and finally nearly the whole Congress rose to their feet waving hats and handkerchiefs in one tremendous roar of cheering. It was the speech of the week.



JEAN JAURES.

It was not true, he said, that the French workers were turning away from political action. They were organising for it more and more. The election returns showed how rapidly the Socialist vote was increasing. It was because they desired economic freedom that they organised for political action. True, there were traitors in every camp.

There were renegade members of Parliament, but the blackest and most dangerous foe they had to face was the man who told them, when they went forth to battle, to leave their weapons at home. And the most powerful weapon the workers had was the weapon of political action. The speech worked the delegates up to a fever heat.

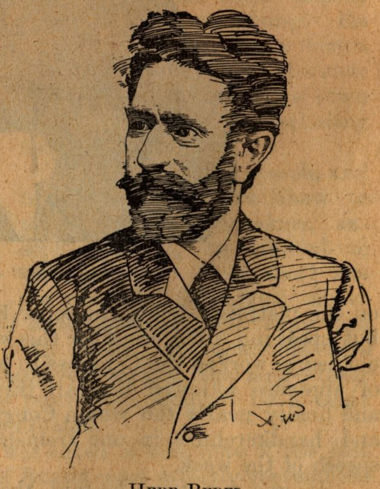


Pete Curran: "I'd rather have a good middle-class Socialist than a renegade working man."

After the excitement had cooled down a little, Dan. Hennessey, of London Plasterers, moved to omit the words "independent of all bourgeois political parties." He sent the Congress into fits by referring to the bourgeois as "bur-go-jee." This was seconded by Will Steadman, L. C. C., who said he saw no difference between a middle-class I. L. P. man and a middle-class Liberal. The closure was then moved, opposed by Tom Mann, and rejected. Immediately Pete Curran sprang upon a chair, and was soon drawing cheer after cheer from the serried ranks of the British Socialists. He would rather, he said, have a middle-class Socialist than a renegade working man—a sentiment which drew a volley of "Hochs" and "Bravos" when translated. But first and foremost he wanted an Independent Labour Party, and he thought we ought to be ashamed of ourselves when we looked at the French and German delegation.

Bebel and Ferri followed at some length giving some interesting figures as to the growth of Socialism in Germany and Italy. In the latter country they polled in 1892 27,000 votes and elected five deputies. Since then there had been an anti-Anarchist law, which had been twisted against them, and an electoral revision law, which had removed from the registers one voter in every three. Yet in 1895 they had polled 80,000 votes and elected fifteen deputies. (Great applause.)

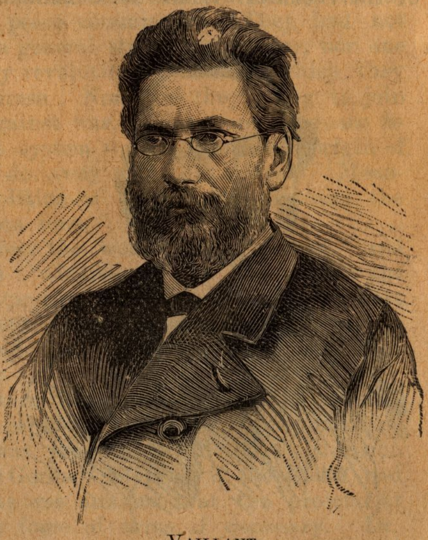
The amendment was then put and lost by a great majority, and the report adopted as it stood, with much enthusiasm.



Herr Bebel.

FRIDAY.

On Friday, 31st July, at 10.30 a.m., the chair was taken by Edouard Vaillant, Revolutionary Communist of the No. 1 French section, and an old soldier of the Paris Commune. Mat Maguire, of America, and Shaw Maxwell, of Scotland, occupied the vice-chairs. The chairman began by protesting that the time of the Congress had not been wasted. The matters discussed on the first days had been very important, and he was convinced that they had laid a foundation on which to build up future Congresses. He denied the press assertion that the Congress was not representative, and pointed to the almost unanimous British vote in favour of forming an independent workers' party as proof that it was not correct to say that that section was split up.

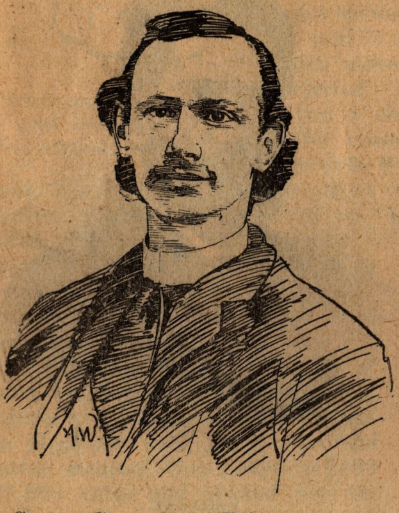


VAILLANT.

Sidney Webb, L.C.C., then read the report of the Commission on Education, which advocated raising the age of total exemption to sixteen years, the prohibition of employment in dangerous trades or night work of any person under eighteen, the raising of the age of half-time to eighteen, and a complete free system of education, open to all children in its elementary and secondary stages, and in the higher grades open with free maintenance by scholarship. He humbly protested against the proposal which had been adopted, on Mr. Keir Hardie's motion, by the British section. He did not believe in free maintenance for all up to twenty-one or twenty-two years of age. Such a system would mean an expenditure of 100 millions yearly in Europe. Nor did he think that everyone wanted or ever would want a complete university education.

Keir Hardie, in moving his amendment, said that he thought by the time we had got so far as to spend 100 millions a year on education we would be saving many hundreds of millions in war and criminal expenditure. The workers paid the taxes, but they did not vote them. He protested against the doctrine that the well-cared-for children of the middle classes should have educational advantages over working-class children, as would be the case under a scholarship system. He asked for the trade-union vote in favour of equality between the children of all classes, and amid loud applause demanded for the children of the workers an education fitting them, not merely to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for their masters, but to be masters of their own fate and their own life. From the cheers which followed it was plain that the competitive idea of the scholarship system was not to the mind of the Congress.

Madame Clara Zetkin, leader of the German Women Socialists, followed with a plea for a university course for every "capable" scholar, and condemning the scholarship scheme as implying charity. She was rather contemptuous about the value of university education, however, and so were several other speakers. When she sat down J. H. Wilson, M.P., who looked a trifle bored through the whole proceedings, moved the closure, but without support.



Christ. Cornelissen (Editor *Recht Voor Allen*).

Herbert Burrows followed with a strong speech. The chairman of the Technical Education Committee of the L.C.C. had called the idea of free maintenance for all impracticable, but that was what was always said. This was not a legislative body, and the amendment was no more impracticable than everything else that had been passed. As for cost, the worker to-day paid for the education of his own and the rich man's children as well, so that it was only a question of rearranging the advantages. He objected to the word "capable" as meaning practically the same thing as the original resolution.

Sidney Webb replied that it was intended to make education entirely free and maintenance entirely free, but to confer these benefits only on those capable of profiting by them. All children were not born with brains—a sentiment which evoked ironical cheers from the British section—and it was impossible to put a finer edge on a knife than the knife would stand. He protested again against proposing to maintain everybody free up to twenty-one years of age.

The chairman then appealed to Keir Hardie to withdraw his amendment—which, of course, the latter would not do, and a vote was taken. Sidney Webb demanded that it should be by nationalities, and the amendment was carried by 14 to 6. The result was received with loud cheers. Instead of "the whole made genuinely accessible to every citizen by freedom from fees and by scholarships covering maintenance," the resolution now stood "by freedom from fees and by public maintenance." Clause 2, "that the school arrangements should include one meal a day," etc., was then withdrawn, the report adopted, and the sitting adjourned for lunch.

At the commencement of the afternoon sitting the report on organisation was read by C. A. Gibson, and the familiar dream of an international newspaper once more walked the stage. The last time that spectre appeared in England was at the Textile Workers' Congress in Manchester in 1894. In order to make the work of International Congresses more continuous it was decided to form a committee of three, to meet in London, to collect information as to ways and means of establishing a permanent organisation. Afterwards this suggestion was withdrawn, as it was found that the Germans and others were prohibited by their laws from serving on such a committee.

The War Commission then came forward. It was, as E. Wurm, the reporter, called it, really a peace commission. They had not accepted a resolution in favour of a general strike against war, nor one proposing to put an end to it by revolutionary means, which they considered only a meaningless phrase. Nor were they going to join the vague middle-class outcry against war, without any reference to the causes of war. The capitalist system was the cause and origin of wars, and the report proposed to do away with that system. Meanwhile Clause I. read: "The abolition of standing armies and the establishment of a national citizen force."

Dr. Pankhurst moved to delete the words after "armies," and to insert "simultaneous" before "abolition." In his opinion the first part of the clause rejected standing armies, and the second part re-established them under another name. But armies were a constant provocation to war, and he put in a strong plea for arbitration and disarmament.

But the Congress was in too militant a mood to think of surrendering their weapons while the capitalist had money to buy soldiers. George Lansbury asked how it was proposed to enforce the decision of a Court of Arbitration on the German Emperor if the Court had no weapons behind it. Allemane was anxious that the proletariat should be able to defend itself by force of arms if necessary. Dr. Pankhurst's amendment was put and lost, except that the word "simultaneous" was added as he suggested. Mr. Woolacott (I. L. P.) moved to add "for national defence only" after "citizen force," but the Germans and French objected and defeated the motion. Mr. Byles (I. L. P.) caused a good deal of amusement by declaring that the Ashanti expedition was purely humanitarian.

Belfort Bax successfully moved to make the decision of tribunals of arbitration final, and it was added that such tribunals should be directly from the people.

On Clause 3, advocating the referendum in questions involving war, in case the Governments concerned refused arbitration, Belfort Bax moved its deletion. He thought the people could not be trusted at present. M. Kolisch, Switzerland, strongly resented this, and thought that if the French plebiscité had not been "cooked" by the Government the Franco-German War would not have happened. The deletion was defeated by a huge majority, few but the Fabians voting for it.

Mrs. Stanton Blatch moved to express the pleasure of the Congress at the fact that a treaty of arbitration between England and America was in the near future.

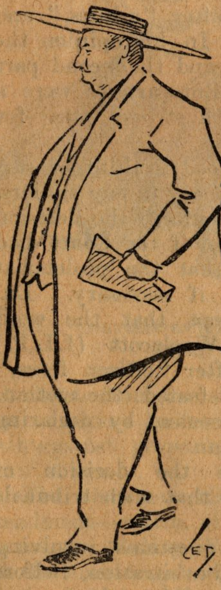
Mr. Sanial, America, said that arbitration was all "middle-class molasses." Arbitration was never resorted to by the middle-class Governments unless there was more money in peace than in war.

Another American delegate rose to state that Mr. Sanial did not represent the views of the American delegation in this matter.

Mrs. Blatch's motion was rejected by a large majority, and the report was adopted as a whole. Some humorous person then proposed "that special efforts should be made to convert unconscious Jingoes to less narrow views," but was laughed out of court.

SATURDAY.

Owing to pressure of business the Congress was called for 9.30 a.m. on the last day of its sittings, but the delegates, although prepared to establish any number of proletariat armies and fight for the resolution while you wait, were not prepared to get up so early in the morning for it. It was 10 a.m. before M. Jean Sigg, of Switzerland, took the chair. M. Sigg is a big, clean-shaven, cheerful-looking man, very like a leading member of the Oldham I.L.P. He had done good service on preceding days as interpreter, and it was scarcely fair to treat him to an array of empty seats even at that hour. The British contingent was very poorly represented at first, many of them having gone to St. Martin's Hall to the usual morning meeting, which had, however, been dropped, and as the home delegates were five to three of the Congress their absence made itself felt. Many of the trade-unionists and Northern delegates had gone home.



A Swiss Delegate.

Without delay the chairman passed to the business on the agenda, and after some preliminaries a resolution of greeting to the Bulgarian Socialist Congress in Sofia and another blaming the capitalist system for the fatal riots between Italians and Swiss in Zurich were passed by acclamation. There were now only some two hours in which to deal with some of the most important business of the Congress. The outside public at least would have been glad to hear more expression of opinion on the great economic questions dealt with this morning.

Herr Molkenbuhr, Germany, read the report of the Economic Commission, which was a long and complicated document, though probably the most interesting of the Congress. It commenced by calling upon the workers of all lands to strive continuously for the socialisation of industry under a democratic organisation, urged the need for international action in view of the disappearance of free competition by the creation of huge monopolies, and recommended the establishment of an international agency to call attention to the movements of these corporations. It was contended that as increasing productive power is proving the cause of gluts and universal commercial crises, which so far the workers have been unable to control, the need of ownership by the community is being recognised, "and the great coal mines, the great ironworks and chemical works, the railways, and the larger factories have all reached the stage where their nationalisation and socialisation present no difficulty from the economic point of view." It was further urged that the workers should make immediate efforts towards definite measures of socialistic reform, and laid down a lengthy programme.

MINORITY REPORT.

In moving the adoption of the report Herr Malkenbuhr strongly condemned the Fabian proposal to immediately attempt a state monopoly of tobacco and spirits.

M. Guerard, of the French Railway Workers' Union, moved on behalf of the French section the minority report, which, on being put to the Congress, was rejected by a large majority.

It was decided to vote upon twelve amendments of which notice had been given without discussion, the French majority loudly protesting.

All the amendments were carried, and will be found at end of report.

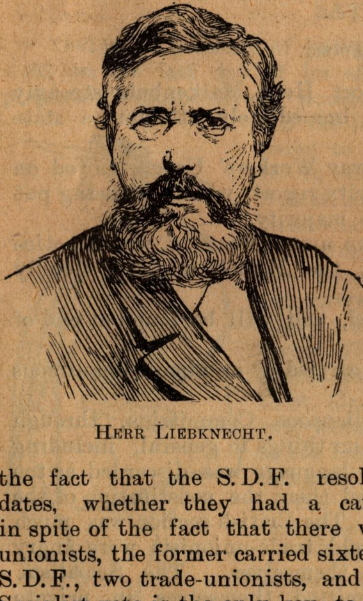
The amended report being put was carried by an almost unanimous vote.

After this business the Miscellaneous Commission, through the mouth of Bruce Glasier, reported on things in general, including a universal language. The universal language was discarded as too beautiful a dream, the report passed, and then the constitution of the next Congress came up for discussion. The British section was much divided in mind on this point. The old trade-unionists were angry at the isolation in which they found themselves. The Socialists. both I.L.P. and S.D.F., had committed themselves in private meetings to a policy which would make the next Congress a purely Socialist one. By a big majority in the S.D.F. and a small one in the I.L.P., resolutions had been carried excluding trade societies which had not declared for Socialism. The trade-unionists demanded proportional representation, and the Anarchist question was sore still.

Herr Liebknecht, speaking with his characteristic strength of phrase and calm of manner, declared that in future they did not intend to discuss the respective merits of Anarchism and Socialism in their Congress, and they meant to get rid of those who were hindering them in discussing their own affairs. International Congresses cost too much money for time to be wasted as it had been wasted during the past week. The next Congress would consist only of Socialists and of representatives of real and not bogus trade unions. They intended to get rid of all the elements they did not want to have. At which the S. D. F. and Germans cheered loudly.

Dan Irving followed with the S. D. F. resolution.

W. Stevenson, of the London Builders' Labourers, here rose to complain of the intolerant way the trade-union delegates "who did represent somebody" had been treated. They had been simply swamped in the British section, and nothing practical had been done during the whole time of Congress. As for the resolution, he thought it merely an attempt on the Socialist part to cover up their impractical ideas with "the cloak of respectability of trade-unionism."



HERR LIEBKNECHT.

The vote was taken soon afterwards, and the result is an interesting study for delegates who share Mr. Stevenson's views. The Congress rejected the S. D. F. amendment, and carried the report as it stood by a large majority. In the British section the S. D. F. proposal was rejected by 129 to 109, although several of the old unionists voted for it by way of protest. This majority of twenty must have been recruited largely from the trades delegates themselves; and another fact in connection with this question of "swamping" may be noted: In the elections to Commissions, as reported last week, in spite of the fact that the S. D. F. resolutely boycotted the I. L. P. candidates, whether they had a candidate of their own or not, and in spite of the fact that there were only 115 I. L. P. to 185 trade-unionists, the former carried sixteen officials to nine carried by the S. D. F., two trade-unionists, and one Fabian. A heavy trade-union-Socialist vote is the only key to that situation, and it follows that if the old unionists were smothered the deed was done by their own family.

Then came the closing scenes. The British, as usual, rose to sing "Auld Lang Syne" to the organ accompaniment. Then the French Moderates raised "The Marseillaise," and as the sonorous battle-hymn swelled through the hall the Germans caught it up, and the English, moved to enthusiasm, also joined their voices into that stately march of sound. The French section, the Allemanists, who strongly object to this venerable anthem, put on their hats and kept silence. When it was over they broke forth into "La Carmagnole," and with cheers for the Social Revolution the delegates turned their backs upon the greatest International yet held.

Many of them met at the Crystal Palace later on, and spent the afternoon and evening in enjoying themselves. They were photographed at half-past four, and they dined in the Concert-room at half-past six. Dr. Aveling was in the chair. After this there was an entertainment, followed by a display of fireworks.

REPORTS OF COMMISSIONS.

THE agenda was divided into eight divisions, and each nationality was invited to elect two representatives to serve on each of these commissions, to prepare a report for consideration by the Congress as a whole. The following are the reports as finally amended and adopted :

Standing Orders.

REPORTER, HERR LIEBKNECHT.

The Standing Orders Committee of the Congress is entrusted with the duty of drawing up the invitation for the next Congress by appealing exclusively to:

1. The representatives of those organisations which seek to substitute Socialist property and production for Capitalist property and production, and who consider legislative and Parliamentary action as one of the necessary means of attaining that end.

2. Purely trade organisations which, though taking no militant part in politics, declare that they recognise the necessity of legislative and Parliamentary action; consequently Anarchists are excluded,

Each nationality shall verify the credentials of its delegates, with right of appeal to a Special Commission elected by all the nationalities represented at the Congress. That the credentials of all nationalities sending less than five delegates to be referred to the Credential Commission to deal with, in the same way as disputed credentials.

RE NEXT CONGRESS.

Resolved, that the next Congress be held in Germany in the year 1899. In case it should be impossible to hold the Congress in Germany it is decided that it shall be held in Paris in the year 1900.

S.D.F. AMENDMENT.

1. That the mandate for the next International Congress shall be confined to delegates from genuine Social Democratic organisations (as well as trade unions) whose object is the socialisation of the means and instruments of production, transport, distribution, and exchange under the ownership and control of the democracy in the interest of the whole people; who strive to attain this end by parliamentary and other general political methods; who are in favour of the establishment in each country of a parliamentary and political party independent of and apart from all other political parties; and who are ready in existing circumstances to accept and abide by the rule of the majority.

Agrarian Commission Report.

CHAIRMAN, SCHONLAN.

The evils which capitalistic exploitation, including landlordism, produces alike for the cultivator of the soil as for the whole of society at an ever increasing rate, can be definitely abolished only in a society in which land, like the other means of production, has become socialised. *i.e*, common property, which society in its corporate capacity, causes to be cultivated in the common interest and on the most scientific methods.

The conditions of land tenure and the division of classes among the agricultural population in different countries are, however, too various for it to be possible to formulate a programme which shall be binding on the labour parties af all countries as regards the means for attaining this end or the particular classes to be won over.

It is none the less the first duty of the Labour Parties throughout the world, in so far as the agrarian question is concerned, to organise the agricultural proletariat in its class struggle against its exploiters.

According to these principles the Congress leaves it to every nation to formulate for the attaining of this end, the ways and means most suitable to the situation of their country.

The Congress declares it desirable that, in every country where there are statistical committees appointed by labour parties, they shall combine and centralise their results by communicating among themselves their statistical abstracts, etc.

Political Action Commission.

REPORTER, G. LANSBURY.

This Congress understands political action as the organised struggle in all forms for the conquest of political power and its use nationally and locally in legislation and administration by the working class on behalf of their emancipation.

The Congress declares that with the view of realising the emancipation of the workers, the enfranchisement of humanity and the citizens, and the establishment of the International Socialist Republic, the conquest of political power is of paramount importance, and calls upon workers of all countries to unite, independent of and

APART FROM ALL BOURGEOIS POLITICAL PARTIES, AND TO DEMAND
UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE,
ONE ADULT ONE VOTE,
THE SECOND BALLOT,

together with the National and Local Referendum and Initiative.

The Congress also declares that the political emancipation of women is inseparable from that of the workers, and therefore calls upon women in all countries to work and organise politically side by side with the workers.

The Congress declares in favour of the full autonomy of all nationalities, and its sympathy with the workers of any country at present suffering under the yoke of military, national, or other despotisms; and calls upon the workers in all such countries to fall into line, side by side with the class-conscious workers of the world, to organise for the overthrow of international capitalism and the establishment of International Social Democracy.

The Congress declares that, whatever the pretext, whether it be religious or in the interests of so-called civilisation, Colonial extension is only another name for the extension of the area of capitalist exploitation in the exclusive interest of the capitalist class.

Minority Report of the British Representatives upon the Agrarian Commission.

The representatives of the British Section upon the Agrarian Commission herewith submit to the Congress their Minority Report.

They are practically in agreement with the resolution presented in the Commission's Report with the exception of the last paragraph. They desire, however, to call attention to the fact that other resolutions proposed by them were rejected by the Commission.

The following are the rejected resolutions :

(a) That, in addition to the direct exploitation of the agricultural workers by landlord and capitalist, these workers are in some countries obstructed, in the distribution of their surplus produce to their fellow-citizens, by the capitalist ownership of the railways and other means of transport, and also of markets, and that these hindrances to effective use of the land can be removed only by socialisation of the above means of transport and exchange.

(b) That, whereas in many countries the development of the capitalist system has resulted in a considerable displacement of agricultural labour, this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived when such labour should be scientifically organised upon the land by such public authorities as are best fitted for the undertaking.

This was rejected, but it was decided to hand it over to the Industrial Commission for their consideration, who replied as follows :

"The Economic and Industrial Commission is of opinion that the resolution submitted for their consideration by the Agrarian Commission cannot be considered by them, the said resolution belonging essentially to the domain of the Agrarian Commission.

(Signed) Henry Polak."

The chairman of the Industrial Commission has, however, since intimated that the rejected resolution will receive their attention.

(c) That this Committee requests the Educational Commission to include in their recommendation to Congress a resolution calling upon the Educational Department of various countries—

1. To arrange for elementary knowledge of agriculture being taught in all public schools.

2. To co-operate with other State Departments, municipalities, etc., in establishing an efficient system of Technical Education in Agriculture.

The foregoing resolutions were rejected on the grounds of their being outside the scope of the Commission's enquiry, or as being unsuited to the needs of several countries represented. With regard to the first ground of objection, we are of opinion that the Commission ought properly to have considered every important phase of the question before them. As to the second, while admitting the existence of, and allowing for, the difference in the nature of the agrarian question in various countries, we desire to express our dissatisfaction with the very pronounced disinclination of the foreign representatives to discuss anything outside the matters contained in the main resolution.

Finally for the benefit of future Congresses, we respectfully suggest that independent and official interpreters should be attached to each Commission.

We are, yours respectfully,

Thos. M. Watt.
W. G. Pearson.

Economic and Industrial Commission Report.

REPORTER, HERR MOLKENBUHR.

I.

In the opinion of this Congress, the workers of all nations should strive continuously as a class for the socialisation of the means of production, transport, distribution, and exchange; the whole to be controlled by a completely democratic organisation in the interest of the entire community, thus emancipating the labouring class and the people at large from the domination of capitalism. This Congress considers that national and international action in this complete Socialist sense is becoming more necessary every day, in view of the disappearance of free competition and the rapid growth of national and international monopolies controlled by huge organisations of the capitalist class. Petroleum oil, sewing cotton, certain minerals, large iron castings, etc., are now controlled by combinations of capitalists who aspire to fix both prices and wages in these trades. Such powerful corporations cannot be effectively encountered by ordinary trade-unions or isolated political action. A more complete organisation of the workers is essential to overcome successfully the machinations of these great companies; and this Congress recommends that steps be taken to organise an international agency to call attention to the movements of these corporations, which frequently use political intrigues to further their ends, and should endeavour to bring about the socialisation of such enterprise by national and international enactment.

In other directions the increasing power of mankind to produce wealth, instead of being turned to the advantage of the community, is proving the causes of gluts and commercial crises, national and international. The workers in coal, iron, leather, cotton, and other trades are in all countries thrown out of work and deprived of their livelihood by the action of economic causes which so far they have been unable to control. In all civilised nations the absolute need for the substitution of ownership by the community for such a chaotic system is being recognised; and the great coal mines, the great iron works and chemical works, the railways, and the larger factories have all reached the stage where their nationalisation and socialisation present no difficulty from the economic point of view.

This Congress, therefore, calls upon the workers of the world to proceed at once to urge definite measures of socialisation, nationalisation, and communisation in their respective countries, keeping one another fully informed as to what each nationality is doing in this direction, so that whatever policy is resolved upon may be adopted, so far as possible, simultaneously.

II.

The trade-union struggle of the workers is indispensable to resist the economic tyranny of capital, and thereby better the actual condition of the toilers. Without trade-unions no living wage and no shortening of hours of labour can be expected. By this struggle, however, the exploitation of labour will only be lessened, not abolished. The exploitation of labour can only be done away with entirely when society has taken control of all the means of production, including the land, and the means of distribution. This, however, requires, in the first instance, a system of legislative measures. In order to carry out those measures completely, the working class should be the dominating political power, which depends on the standard of organisation attained. The trade-unions, therefore, help to consolidate the political power of the labouring classes, by reason of their organising efforts. The organisation of the working class is incomplete and unfinished so long as it is political only.

But the economic struggle also calls for political action by the labouring class. Whatever the workers gain from their employers in open disputes must be confirmed by law in order to be maintained, while trade conflicts may in other cases be rendered superfluous by legislative measures.

The more the international organisation and co-operation of the capitalist world-market are perfected, the more the international co-operation of the working classes in regard to trade-union action, more especially the protection of labour by law, becomes necessary.

In the near future international co-operation of the proletariat on the following lines will be necessary:

1. Abolition of all tariffs, duties on articles of consumption, and exportation premiums.

2. International factory and labour protection laws. Whereas, in regard to the latter point, the resolutions of the Paris Congresses are reaffirmed, the Congress resolves temporarily to limit the palliative agitation to: (*a*) To demand the Legal Eight-hours Day. (*b*) To abolish the sweating system, and to introduce perfect legislative protection for the workers who do not work in factories, workshops, etc. (*c*) The recognition of the unassailable right of combination and coalition of both sexes. The resolutions adopted at the Paris Congresses were: (1) The Legal Eight-hours Day, to which it is proposed to add that six hours' night work constitute an equivalent for eight hours' day work. (2) Abolition of child labour under the age of fourteen, and limitation of the working day to six hours a day for all between fourteen and fifteen. (3) Prohibition of night work, save in trades in which continuous running is a necessity. (4) Prohibition of night work for both sexes under the age of eighteen. ((5) At least thirty-six hours of complete leisure in each week (6) Prohibition of those industries and methods of production which specially injure the health of the workers. (7) Abolition of the truck system. (8) The inspection of all industries—whether carried on in factories, small workshops, or at home—by paid inspectors, at least half of whom shall be chosen by the workers. To accomplish this, economic and political action must go hand in hand.

Therefore, the Congress declares the organisation of the workers in trade-unions to be an urgent matter in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class, and, in connection with similar resolutions passed at the Brussels and Zurich Congresses, considers it to be the duty of all workers who endeavour to liberate abour from the yoke of capitalism, to join the unions in their respective trades.

In order to make the trade-unions as effective as possible they are recommended to organise as national trade-unions in their respective countries, thus avoiding waste of power by small independent or local organisations. Especially, difference of political views ought not to be considered a reason for separate action in the economic struggle; on the other hand, the nature of the class struggle makes it the duty of the labour organisations to educate their fellow-members up to the truths of Social-Democracy.

Trade-unions should also admit female workers into their ranks, and secure for them equal wages for the same kind and amount of work.

In the struggle for better wages and conditions of work, the trade-unions ought to control the applications of the existing laws for the protection of labour.

The Congress considers strikes and boycotts are necessary weapons to attain the objects of trade-unions. What is most essential is the thorough organisation of the working classes; as the successful management of a strike depends on the strength of its organisation.

In order to have a uniform international trade-union movement, a Central Trade-union Commission should be constituted in every country. These commissions shall collect statistics about the labour market, and shall exchange these statistics, together with other regular reports on important events in each country.

It should be the special duty of the trade-unions of all countries to take care that workers coming from another country become members of the union of their respective trades, and do not work for less than trade-union wages.

In case of strikes, lock-outs, and boycotts, the trade-unions of all countries should assist one another according to their means.

III.

The economic and industrial development is going on with such rapidity that a crisis may occur within a comparatively short time. The Congress, therefore, impresses upon the proletariat of all countries the imperative necessity for learning, as class-conscious citizens, how to administer the business of their respective countries for the common good.

Minority Report.

Seeing that at several French National Congresses—Marseilles (1892), Paris (1893), Nantes (1894), and Limoges (1895)—the trade-unionists have declared in favour of a general strike in all trades as a method of emancipation;

That in Belgium a general strike, even though imperfectly organised, had a great effect in obtaining the suffrage from the bourgeoisie;

That Sweden and Austria in their fight to obtain this same right have adopted the same means;

That if *a priori* the general international strike seems to be impossible, it may be very different with a general national strike;

But that, as a matter of fact, the question of a national strike has not been sufficiently investigated in the different countries;

Therefore, the Congress invites the workers of all nations, and in particular the trade-unionists, to study this important question, which may be decided at the next Congress.—Lost.

Amendments to Economic and Industrial Reports Adopted by Congress.

(1) No woman to be allowed to work for six weeks before and after confinement, and to receive maintenance from a State Maternity Department during such term of prohibition (Mrs. Hicks). (2) The minimum age of child labour to be raised to sixteen years (Mr. Quelch). (3) Wherever private employment fails, public employment should be provided at the public cost (Dr. Pankhurst). (4) No restriction to be placed upon immigration (Jewish Workers). (5) The May-day demonstration to be a demonstration against militarism as well as in favour of the eight hours (Swiss Delegation). (6) Mutual efforts to be made against "alien" blacklegs in case of trade disputes (Mr. D. Hennessey). (7) Abolition of "home work" whenever possible (Mr. Herbert Burrows). (8) To include apprentices in unions, formed into a special group, and to give them a Socialistic and technical education (French Delegate).

War Commission.

Reporter: E. WURM.

Under capitalism the chief causes of war are not religious or national differences but economic antagonisms, into which the exploiting classes of the various countries are driven by the system of production for profit.

Just as this system sacrifices unceasingly the life and health of the working class on the battlefield of labour, so it has no scruple in shedding their blood in search of profit by the opening up of new markets.

The working class of all countries should rise up against military oppression on the same ground that they revolt against all other forms of exploitation under which they are victimised by the possessing classes.

To attain this object they must acquire political power so as to abolish the system of capitalist production and simultaneously refuse, in all countries, to governments which are the instruments of the capitalist class, the means of maintaining the existing order of things.

Standing armies, whose maintenance even in times of peace exhausts the nation, and the cost of which is borne by the working class, increase the danger of war between nations, and at the same time favour the brutal oppression of the proletariat of the world. This is why the cry "Lay down your Arms" is no more listened to than the other appeals to humanitarian sentiments raised by the capitalist classes.

The working class alone have the serious desire, and they alone possess the power, to realise Universal Peace.

They demand:

1. The Simultaneous Abolition of Standing Armies and the Establishment of a National Citizen Force.

2. The Establishment of Tribunals of Arbitration, to regulate peaceably disputes between nations.

3. The final decision on the question of War or Peace to be vested directly in the People in cases where the Governments refuse to accept the decision of the tribunal of arbitration;

And they protest against the system of Secret Treaties.

The working class will only attain these objects by securing the control of legislation and by entering into an alliance with the International Socialist Movement, whereby Peace may be finally assured, and the real Fraternity of Peoples permanently established.

Report of the Commission on Education and Physical Development.

CHAIRMAN, SIDNEY WEBB, L.C.C.

In presenting their report to the Congress, the Commission on Education and Physical Development desire to express their sense of the enormous importance of the subject to the Socialist movement and to the well-being of the working classes of the whole world. Under the present system of capitalist exploitation the children of the masses are stunted in their physical growth, deprived of that healthy leisure which is the condition of harmonious development, and prevented from obtaining access to the education and knowledge which is the common heritage of the whole human race. Under present circumstances the parents of the proletarian class struggle in vain to secure to their children those opportunities of nurture and culture without which neither a healthy family life nor a well-organised society is possible.

Further, the use by the capitalist employer of the labour of children and young persons to displace the labour of adults is a serious menace to the standard of life even of the best organised workmen; whilst, by reducing the level of wages it results in no pecuniary advantage even to the families concerned. Finally, seeing that the future well-being of society depends on the constant discovery of further scientific truths, especially in regard to economic, industrial, and social organisations, Socialists in all countries are urged to use their best efforts to promote scientific investigation and research of the highest kind, and to demand that the necessary means for such work be provided from public funds.

The following resolutions are submitted to Congress:

SIDNEY WEBB, *Chairman.*

RESOLUTIONS.

1. That the Congress, whilst fully recognising the value in education of independent experiment, declares that it is an essential duty of the public administration in each country to provide a complete system of education, under Democratic public control, extending from the kindergarten to the university (including physical, scientific, artistic, and technical (manual work) training), the whole made genuinely accessible to every citizen by freedom from fees and by public maintenance.

2. That the minimum age at which children should be exempted from full attendance at school, and legally allowed to be employed in industry, whether in factories or home workshops, should be as quickly as possible raised in all countries to at least 16 years.

3. That the employment of any child under 18 in any trade proved to be unhealthy or dangerous, or in night work, be absolutely forbidden by law.

4. That, in order to ensure proper continuance of educational training, and to restrain the illegitimate use of child labour by the capitalist, no employer be permitted to work any boy or girl under 18 years of age, whether in factory or domestic workshop, for more than twenty-four hours per week (the half-time system), with compulsory attendance at continuation classes.

5. That, with regard to children, at any rate, the factory legislation of all industrial countries should be uniformly fixed by international agreement; and the Congress observes that the various governments have not yet carried out the engagements to this effect solemnly entered into by them at the Berlin Conference of 1891, the British Government, in particular, still permitting child labour at the age of 11.

6. That for the proper protection and education of children in industrial centres, it is absolutely necessary that manufacturing work done at home should be as effectively regulated and inspected as work done in factories; and where a capitalist employer, in order to escape from factory legislation, gives out work to be done in the workers' own homes, this Congress declares that he should be made legally responsible for seeing that such work is done under proper sanitary and other conditions, precisely as if it were done in his own factory.

Report of the Commission on Organisation.

Reporter: C. A. GIBSON.

In presenting their report to the Congress, the Commission desire to state that of the resolutions sent in they have been able to draw up those appearing on their report which embody the desires of the framers of the majority of the resolutions. We have been unable to recommend the publication of an international paper as desired in resolutions 7 and 8, owing to the cost, and to the fact that many of our existing Socialist papers contain reports from other countries.

I.

1. That in the opinion of this Congress an effort should immediately be made to create a permanent international committee, with a responsible secretary, centred in some convenient part of Europe.

2. That a small committee be appointed from this Congress to frame proposals for giving effect to No. 1, and report to the next Congress.

3. That said committee be empowered to act as a provisional committee for the movement between now and the next Congress; and that any nationality not represented on the committee by election from this Congress may send one representative to act until the International Congress next meets.

II.

4. This Congress recognises the constantly growing necessity of international economic information, and invites all nationalities to exercise their utmost diligence in carrying out the resolutions of Brussels and Zurich concerning the establishment of international bureaux of information.

III.

5. In view of the large emigration from European countries to America and other continents where a highly concentrated capitalism is thereby afforded extraordinary opportunities of reducing the wages of labour, and generally overcoming any resistance of the workers to oppression and degradation;

In view also of the fact that many of the emigrants, previously connected with the labour parties and labour organisations of their respective native lands, are generally failing (chiefly because of their ignorance of the English language) to connect themselves with the militant labour bodies of their adopted countries; so that the forces lost to the European movement by emigration are entirely lost to the international movement;

The Congress recommends that arrangements be made between the European countries and the Trans-oceanic Continents for the distribution among the emigrants at European ports and on board emigrant ships, of printed leaflets containing necessary information and directions; also, for such Socialist agitators as America and the other continents may require to properly organise the foreign portion of their proletariats.

N.B.—Owing to the prohibitive laws in general continental States against international combination, recommendations 1, 2, and 3, were finally abandoned after having been passed by the Congress.

Report of the Commission on Miscellaneous Matters.

J. Bruce Glasier, Reporter.

1. That this Congress declares the fundamental right of liberty of conscience, of speech, and of the Press, and the right of public meeting and combination, both locally and internationally, of the workers and all other sections of the people for the attainment of political, industrial, and social change.

2. The Congress calls upon the workers to use their strongest efforts in their respective countries to obtain an amnesty for political prisoners; and expresses its condemnation of the system of police provocation of plots designed to bring discredit upon and provoke repressive measures against advanced movements; and further calls for the immediate exposure of and investigation into all cases concerning which suspicion exists that the convictions have been obtained by any such detestable methods.

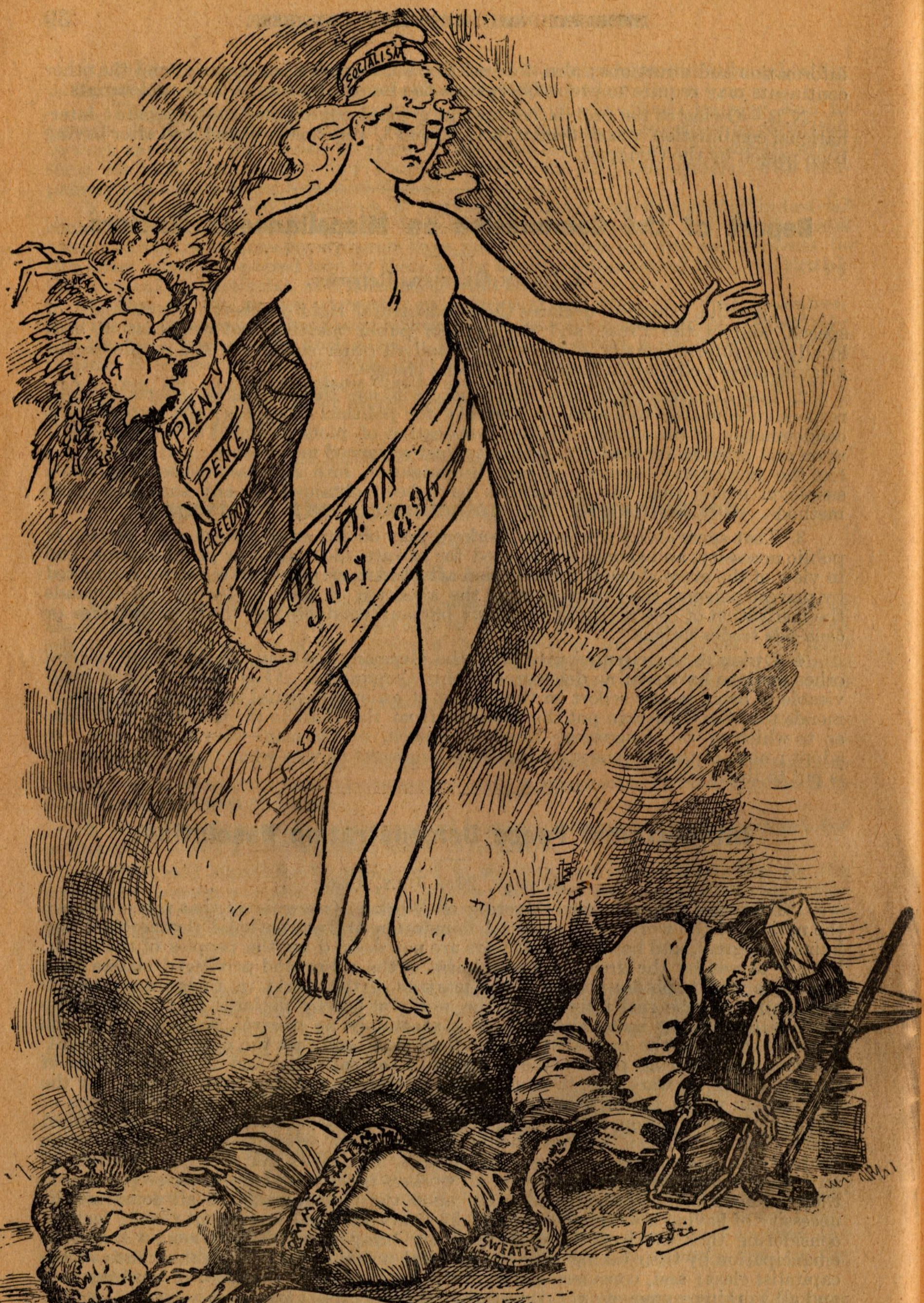
3. That agencies by which the workers may obtain employment are a matter of public necessity, and should not be used for private speculation or profit-making, and in view of the gross abuse and corruption attached to employment registries conducted by private persons, the Congress urges the abolition of such registries, and demands the institution of free registries or labour bureaux conducted by the municipalities or *bona-fide* trades-unions.

4. Owing to the circumstance that the German, Austrian, Spanish, and several other sections have sent no delegation to this Commission, it has been thought inadvisable to bring in any report on the subject of an international language; but recommends that the Chairman put the question from the chair to the Congress by nations as to which of the languages—English, French, or German—they would prefer to adopt; none of the nations speaking these languages to vote when their own language is put to the meeting.

International Peace Demonstration Resolution.

Sunday, 26th July, 1896.

"That this International Meeting of Workers (recognising that peace between the nations of the world is an essential foundation of International Brotherhood and human progress, and believing that wars are not desired by the peoples of the earth, but are caused by the greed and selfishness of the ruling and privileged classes with the single view to obtain control of the markets of the world in their own interests and against all the real interests of the workers) hereby declares that between the workers of different nationalities there is absolutely no quarrel, and that their one common enemy is the capitalist and landlord class, and that the only way of preventing wars and ensuring peace is the abolition of the capitalist and landlord system of society in which wars have their root, and it therefore pledges itself to work for the only way in which that system can be overthrown—the socialisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange; it further declares that till this is accomplished every dispute between nations should be settled by arbitration instead of by the brutality of force of arms; further, this meeting recognises that the establishment of an International Eight-hours Day for all workers is the most immediate step towards their ultimate emancipation, and urges upon the Governments of all countries the necessity of having a working day of eight hours by legal enactment; and, further, considering that the working class can only bring about their economic and social emancipation by their taking over the political machinery to day in the hands of the capitalist class; and, considering that in all countries large numbers of working men and all working women do not possess the vote and cannot take part in political action, this meeting of workers declares for and pledges itself to use every endeavour to obtain universal suffrage."


SOCIALISM
PLENTY
PEACE
FREEDOM
LONDON
July 1896
COMMERCIALISM
SWEATER

REPORTS FROM NATIONALITIES.

By a stupid recommendation of the Organising Committee, *each section* of the British delegation was invited to prepare a separate report. As might have been expected the result is a ridiculous attempt of each to glorify its own little dung heap. The Trade Unionists presented no report. Here is the final result, which tries to make the British Socialist movement the laughing stock of the world, unless the fates be kind and mercifully relegate it to the comparative obscurity of the English tongue :

Report of the S.D.F.

At the end of the year 1880, the bad faith of the Liberal Government and the breach of all its engagements towards Ireland involved in the withdrawal of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, which promised some relief to the poor tenants, had raised a strong feeling among Radicals throughout Great Britain Several attempts were made to bring this discontent to a focus without success. At this time there were practically no Socialists in England. A small group of Englishmen meeting at the old foreign club in Rose Street, Soho, did something to keep alive the spirit of the International; and a small body of workers at the East End of London, called the Labour Emancipation League, carried on a fitful propaganda under most discouraging circumstances. An endeavour was then made to bring together in the metropolis all the men of advanced opinions who were opposed to the fraudulent tactics of both political factions. Several gatherings were held in January and February, 1881, and in March an important meeting was held at Westminster Palace Hotel with Mr. Joseph Cowen in the chair Professor Beesly and Dr. Clark being also present. This led to the formation of the Democratic Federation, now the Social-Democratic Federation, and the only members of the body now who were present on that occasion are Herbert Burrows, H. M. Hyndman, and J. E. Williams.

The first Conference was held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on 8th June, 1881, and at that Conference H. M. Hyndman presented to all the delegates a copy of "England for All." Then, too, began that long series of attacks by the Democratic Federation on the "Coercion" policy of Mr. Gladstone's Government in Ireland, which speedily led to the withdrawal of all the kept Radical Clubs from the Federation, but which was ultimately crowned with complete success notwithstanding. From this time forward the Federation became an avowedly Socialist organisation, and as such carried on an active propaganda in favour of Socialism not only in London but throughout the provinces, and made Socialism the battle-cry in its long and successful struggle in favour of free speech in the metropolis. This although the title of the Social-Democratic Federation was not assumed till 1884.

The early years of the S.D.F., from 1881 to 1887, were perhaps the years of most active and successful propaganda. A mere handful of men with small means and no influential backing kept the whole country in constant agitation on such questions as the Unemployed, Thrift, Emigration, Strikes, etc., doing their utmost to prove to the workers that in Socialism lay their only hope of freedom and fair conditions of life for themselves and their children. From that time to this, in spite of the inevitable ups and downs of a popular agitation against the existing forms of society, the movement has gone steadily forward, and it may be confidently claimed that the Social-Democratic Federation, by its lectures, its literature, its public debates with eminent opponents, its steady propaganda among the workshops and among the old trade-unions, as well as its unceasing attacks upon public bodies—national, municipal, and local—has done far more to spread Socialism in England than all other organisations put together. From the first its members have adhered to the school of scientific Socialism, which has formed the basis of all sound democratic progress both here and on the Continent of Europe. As a result, after an existence of more than fifteen years—a longer period than any organisation devoted to the emancipation of the workers has lasted in English history—the Social-Democratic Federation is far stronger, better disciplined, and in a sounder financial position to-day than at any previous time in its existence. The character of the work done has changed with the education of the public mind; and the reception of many of its palliatives, such as the Eight-Hours Bill, the Free Maintenance of Children, the Erection of Wholesome Dwellings for the people by public bodies, the enaction of a Minimum Wage in all trades, and the removal of the "sweating" in the public service—the reception of these as "practical" measures to be argued, discussed, and, if possible, hindered by political factions, has rendered the insistence upon the complete Social-Democratic programme more essential than ever. So far from becoming less clear and pronounced in their teaching the members of the S.D.F. were at no time more thoroughly and scientifically revolutionary in their propaganda than they are to-day, and never had more reason to be confident in the future of the cause in this country.

The detailed history of the work of this, the real Social-Democratic Party of England, during the past three years would of itself exceed the limits prescribed for this brief summary of what has been done. Since the year 1893 it may fairly be said that the amount of work done and success achieved by the body, though not so showy, has been as productive of good results as any previous three years since the commencement of the movement in 1881. The election of Social-Democrats on public bodies has given our comrades the opportunity for gaining practice in administration, while it has also enabled them to use the local agencies as a means for applying our palliatives and advocating our theories. Alike in the metropolis and the provinces much quiet and successful work has been done in this direction, the full result of which will be felt as the coming generation of educated Social-Democrats begins to take advantage of the opening made for them by our pioneers. Even the dominant class have been forced to recognise that in ability, honesty, and persistency in championing the claims of the oppressed, the men and women of the S.D.F. who have been elected by their fellow-citizens to responsible positions have proved themselves equal to the best of those with whom they were brought into contact. As a consequence, in all times of political excitement or social difficulty, the mass of the people look in an increasing degree to the Social-Democrats for guidance and leadership. The question, "What are you Social-Democrats going to do?" is now almost invariably put to us both in London and in the country, even by those who but lately derided us as hopeless dreamers and idealists.

The preparation for the General Election of last year absorbed a great part of the funds and occupied much of the attention of the organisation. Even so, we could afford to run no more than four candidates to the poll; but these were financed entirely by the money of the S.D.F., and the record of 3730 solid Socialist votes in four constituencies compares most favourably with anything done up to that time. Our political forms in Great Britain are, unfortunately, at least a hundred years behind our economic development. The people are, as yet, by no means fully enfranchised. We have no payment of election expenses, no payment of members, no universal suffrage, no second ballot. Under these circumstances the voters have become accustomed to poll in two compact masses for the two organised political frauds called the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party. They have not yet learnt that they will get nothing substantial by political means until they have got a party of their own. Hence they are afraid that they will "throw away their votes," as they call it, if they go to the poll for a Socialist or a Labour man who stands independent of the recognised factions. This delusion is assiduously fostered by the wire-pullers of the plunderers and profitmongers, and hence, taken in connection with the drawbacks above noted, political action in favour of Social-Democracy has far less effect on Parliament here than in countries which, in economic status and general readiness for Socialist change, are far behind Great Britain. But the Social-Democratic Federation, apart from any other organisation, is now alone in the position to prevent the Liberals from ever again taking office save on terms dictated by us. This fact, which is well known to the Liberal wirepullers, with the vigour and enthusiasm which we exhibit under all circumstances, has at length convinced the more hypocritical of the two great capitalist factions that we have to be reckoned with seriously in the near future. Whether this will result in less bitter opposition to our doctrines depends upon the general tendency of economic affairs in the country at large. At present the condition of all our great industries is so increasingly precarious that nationalisation of railways, nationalisation of mines, and other measures, which yesterday would have been scouted as impracticable, are being widely discussed; and they cannot be discussed, still less entered upon, without Social-Democratic proposals and criticism being forced upon the consideration of statesmen and the public.

No sooner was the General Election over than flatness and stagnation came upon the whole people. The Social-Democrats alone rose at once to the occasion, and a series of great and successful mass meetings in London and all the great cities in the country proved to the world that we are never discouraged and have too much important work to do ever to be cast down. During the past twelve months we have strengthened and recruited our forces in every direction, and the confidence and zeal exhibited by men and women who have worked on for years in their respective localities have been most exhilarating for the elder members of our organisation, who will remember the day of very small things.

In regard to the International Congress, it is safe to say that as we have contributed more in money to the expenses than bodies infinitely richer than ourselves, so we have done an amount of work in the way of initiative and detailed drudgery which has far exceeded that of all the other English organisations put together. It is quite sufficient reward to us that unparalleled success is now certain to be achieved, and that the S.D.F. will have the satisfaction of seeing in 1896 such a gathering of English Socialist delegates to meet and greet their foreign brethren as even the most sanguine among us could not have believed to be possible fifteen years ago.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
OF THE
SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION.

337 Strand, London, W.C., July, 1896.

The Independent Labour Party: Its History and Policy.

The Independent Labour Party as a national organisation was founded in January, 1893.

For some time previously the numbers of unemployed workmen had been rapidly increasing, wages in all industries had declined, and old age found one half of the industrial population in such an abject state of destitution that no resource was left to them but the workhouse and the degradation of the pauper's dress. These, with other glaring social and economic evils, had convinced the thoughtful portion of Trade-unionists that the mere voluntary organisation of labour even should it include the whole, instead of a minority, of the workers, was inadequate to cope successfully with the gigantic combinations of capital which the development of modern industry had produced. As a result they turned their attention to both Parliament and the municipality, in addition to working vigorously in the Trade-union movement. They saw clearly that the whole of the political machinery of government and administration was controlled and manipulated by the same class, frequently by the same individuals, whom they were fighting in their industrial organisations. Hitherto the contests for political supremacy had been generally waged between landlord and capitalist, for the purpose of destroying the restrictions by which the hereditary aristocracy had fettered the development of commerce. To break down class monopoly, the capitalists had to appeal to the workers, and to repeatedly enlarge the circle of the franchise, with the result that political freedom, in so far as it consists of the power of electing representatives on legislative and administrative bodies, is to-day vested in the masses. But with the establishment of political democracy and the satisfaction of the demands of the capitalist class, the distinctions between the two political parties died out; both became essentially capitalist and unprogressive, and met the new demands for drastic social legislation, either by a policy of determined resistance, or by endeavouring to again divert the attention of the workers to mere alterations in the machinery of government.

THE FIRST DEFINITE STAND

for Independent Labour Representation was made at Bradford, in 1892.

The workers of Manningham, who were on strike against a local manufacturer had held a peaceful and orderly demonstration, when at the instigation of the Town Council, composed of manufacturers, they were suddenly, and without provocation, assailed by the police, the meeting was forcibly broken up, and many inoffensive persons seriously injured. The effect of this brutality was to convince the men on strike, and their sympathisers, of the absolute necessity of ousting the plutocrats from political power as the first step to gaining industrial liberty, and they therefore invited Ben. Tillett, general secretary of the Dock, Wharf, and Riverside Labourers' Union, to contest the constituency of West Bradford at the General Election of June, 1892, against a influential plutocrat of well-known anti-labour views, who had held the seat for eighteen years. Notwithstanding there were three candidates in the field, Ben. Tillett secured a vote of 2749, and was only beaten by a majority of 558.

At the same election J. Keir Hardie (subsequently elected president of the Party), was returned by the workers of South West Ham to represent them in Parliament.

These successes stimulated the advanced Trade-unionists to bring the matter before the

ANNUAL TRADES-UNION CONGRESS,

held that year in Glasgow, and, after an animated debate, a resolution in favour of Independent Labour Representation was carried by a bare majority. Unfortunately the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades-union Congress was composed of men who, though deservedly respected for their earnestness and ability as organisers and leaders on the old lines, yet were most of them bound by political, and in some cases by financial ties, to one of the plutocratic parties, and, as a consequence, nothing but passive hostility was to be expected. After allowing a considerable interval for them to move, it was felt that further delay was both useless and dangerous, and at the initiation of the Bradford men a conference was summoned at that town, of all associations who were in favour of the formation of an Independent Labour Party. This conference met on 13th and 14th January, 1893. 115 delegates were present, the majority sent by Independent Labour Organisations, Trades Councils and Branches of the Social Democratic Federation; Fabian Societies were also represented.

It was agreed that the various local Independent Labour Organisations should be federated and known as the Independent Labour Party, of which the local societies would be branches. It was strongly felt, however, that the mere representation of Labour in Parliament was useless unless the Party had an economic basis, and, as a consequence, the following resolution was carried almost unanimously:

"That the object of the Independent Labour Party shall be to secure the Collective Ownership of all the Means of Production, Distribution and Exchange."

A Programme embodying the immediate demands of the Party was also drawn up and adopted.

Thus the I.L.P. at its formation declared definitely for Socialism, a position from which it has never, for one moment, receded.

The Trades-union Congress, not to be outdone, endorsed the Socialist resolution, and repeated its former decision, this time, by a majority of 65; but it again paralysed its action by the re-election of the reactionaries.

A series of

STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS

took place the same year on an unprecedented scale, and the necessity of depriving the capitalists of political power, was again forcibly brought home to the organised workers of Great Britain by the ostentatious and indecent haste with which the troops were despatched by the Government to the assistance of the capitalists—many of whom were actual members of the party in power—for the purpose of fomenting disturbances, and thus giving an excuse for more vigorous measures; a policy which resulted in many injuries, and the shooting to death of two miners at Featherstone, in Yorkshire.

The I.L.P., therefore, stands as the political expression and unofficial mouthpiece of Socialist Trade-unionism. Its members are convinced Trade-unionists, every item on its programme, as well as the ultimate object, has been repeatedly endorsed by Congresses of Trade-unionists, and, notwithstanding the opposition of many of the leaders, it stands in the position of being the only political party which is prepared to advocate and fight for the whole programme to which Trade-unionism is pledged.

The Independent Labour Party at present mainly

CONFINES ITS ATTENTIONS TO INDUSTRIAL QUESTIONS,

and avoids, as far as possible, allowing the attention of the workers being diverted from the economic goal by such side-issues as the abolition of Hereditary Legislators, the separation of Church and State, and other matters, on which, when the time comes for dealing with them, it will be quite prepared to speak out and act decisively.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE PARTY IN PARLIAMENT

was sharply defined by its president, J. Keir Hardie. It is that of a resolute hostility to any capitalist Government, and the relentless pressing forward of industrial demands, regardless of the convenience of the ministry of the day. The object of so doing is not so much to induce Parliament, as at present constituted, to deal with these matters, of which it has little hope, but to focus the attention of the public upon the economic evils of society, and to insist on Socialism as the only satisfactory remedy.

The I.L.P., though mainly formed for political purposes, does not by any means confine itself to such. It works also on the voluntary side of

THE CO-OPERATIVE AND TRADES-UNION MOVEMENTS,

advocating and supporting strikes, when such action may be thought desirable, and organising right along the line. It is, in fact, ready to adopt any methods—short of assassination and bomb throwing, which it leaves to its capitalist opponents—to further the object it has in view.

THE POLICY

hitherto pursued at elections where there have been no Socialist candidates has been one of abstention. The party, however, is by no means pledged to this policy, but is prepared to use its vote either in or out of Parliament in whatever manner it may deem will best advance the cause of Socialism. In its general policy, however, it believes alliances of Socialist bodies with other political parties as known in Great Britain to be in every way harmful to the Socialist cause. It prefers to build up an organisation of workers and genuine believers in the necessity for Socialism, and to wait till it can win elections with candidates whose Socialism is beyond dispute, rather than drop any essential principle for the sake of an apparent temporary gain.

The I.L.P. is represented on local bodies by about 90 members, and at the general election of last year it was responsible for 28 Socialist candidates out of 33, who polled an average vote of 1592. Although none of its candidates were elected, Socialism has never figured so largely before in English politics. Since then the branches have increased their strength and activity, and in a bye-election in North Aberdeen, May 1, 1896, Tom Mann, the Gen. Secy. polled 2749 votes against a Liberal Plutocrat, who received 2909, in a constituency where Liberal majorities for many years previous had exceeded 3000.

The party is managed by a National Administrative Council, consisting of the Chairman, General Secretary, Treasurer and six other members, who are elected at an annual congress, formed of delegates from the various branches. Each delegate votes according to the number of members he represents.

Branches have, subject to the constitution of the party, complete local autonomy, and fix their own contributions from their members. Every member has to contribute one penny per month to the National Administrative Council, which is spent in forwarding the objects of the party.

The Independent Labour Party ever upholds the solidarity of all workers, regardless of race or nationality, and although only recently formed, it was represented at the Zurich Congress by its General Secretary. It carefully watches the progress of all other democracies. It rejoices in their successes, is nerved by their sufferings, and shares with them their sorrows, which are also its own. It looks forward with confident hope to the international organisation of Labour, and echoes the cry, whose realisation means the complete downfall of Capitalism, and the final triumph of Democracy,—

WORKERS, OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

Head Office: 53 Fleet Street, London, E.C.

Report on Fabian Policy.

I.—THE MISSION OF THE FABIANS.

The object of the Fabian Society is to persuade the English people to make their political constitution thoroughly democratic and to socialise their industries sufficiently to make the livelihood of the people entirely independent of private Capitalism.

II.—FABIAN INTEGRITY.

The Fabian Society endeavours to pursue its Socialist and Democratic objects with complete singleness of aim. For example:

It does not ask the English people to join the Fabian Society.

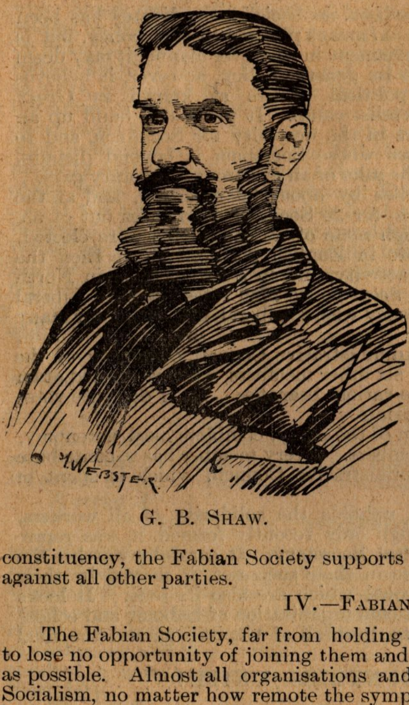
It does not propose that the practical steps towards Social-Democracy should be carried out by itself, or by any other specially organised Socialist society or party.

It brings all the pressure and persuasion in its power to bear, not on the imaginary forces of the future, but on the existing forces of to-day, caring nothing by what name any party calls itself, or what principles, Socialist or other, it professes, but having regard solely to the tendency of its actions, supporting those which make for Socialism and Democracy, and opposing those which are reactionary.

It has no distinctive opinions on Peace or War, the Marriage Question, Religion, Art, abstract Economics, Historic Evolution, Currency, or any other subject than its own special business of practical Democracy and Socialism.

III.—FABIAN ELECTORAL TACTICS.

The Fabian Society does not claim to be the people of England, or even the Socialist party, and therefore does not seek direct political representation by putting forward Fabian candidates at elections. But it loses no opportunity of influencing elections and inducing constituencies to select Socialists as their candidates. No person, however, can obtain the support of the Fabian Society, or escape its opposition, by merely repeating a few shibboleths and calling himself a Socialist or Social-Democrat. As there is no Second Ballot in England, frivolous candidatures give great offence, and discredit the party in whose name they are undertaken, because any third candidate who is not well supported will not only be beaten himself, but may also involve in his defeat the better of the two candidates competing with him. Under such circumstances the Fabian Society throws its weight remorselessly against the third candidate, whether he call s himself a Socialist or not, in order to secure the victory to the better of the two candidates between whom the contest really lies. On the other hand, when the third candidate is not only a serious representative of Socialism, but can organise his party well, and poll sufficient votes to make even his defeat a respectable demonstration of the strength and growth of Socialism in the constituency, the Fabian Society supports him resolutely under all circumstances and against all other parties.



G. B. SHAW.

IV.—FABIAN TOLERATION.

The Fabian Society, far from holding aloof from other bodies, urges its members to lose no opportunity of joining them and permeating them with Fabian ideas as far as possible. Almost all organisations and movements contain elements making for Socialism, no matter how remote the sympathies and intentions of their founders may be from those of the Socialists. On the other hand, unintentionally reactionary proposals are constantly being brought forward in Socialist bodies. Fabians are therefore encouraged to join as many other organisations, Socialist or non-Socialist, as they can.

V.—FABIAN CONSTITUTIONALISM.

The Fabian Society is perfectly constitutional in its attitude, and its methods are those usual in political life in England.

The Fabian Society accepts the conditions imposed on it by human nature and by the national character and political circumstances of the English people. It sympathises with the ordinary man's preference for gradual, peaceful changes, to revolution, conflict with the army and police, and martyrdom. It recognises the fact that Social-Democracy is not the whole of the working-class programme, and that every separate measure towards the socialisation of industry will have to compete for precedence with numbers of other reforms. It therefore does not believe that the moment will ever come when the whole of Socialism will be staked on the issue of a single General Election or a single Bill in the House of Commons as between the proletariat on one side and the proprietariat on the other. Each instalment of Social-Democracy will only be a measure among other measures, and will have to be kept to the front by an energetic Fabian section of the working-class party. The Fabian Society therefore begs those Socialists who are looking forward to a sensational historical crisis to join some other Society.

VI.—FABIAN DEMOCRACY.

Democracy, as understood by the Fabian Society, means simply the control of the administration by freely elected representatives of the people. The Fabian Society energetically repudiates all conceptions of Democracy as a system by which the technical work of government, such as legislation, administration, and the appointment of public officials, shall be carried on by referendum or any other form of direct popular decision. Such arrangements may be practical in a Russian village; but in the complicated industrial civilisations which are ripening for Social Democracy, they would be childish. When the House of Commons is thrown open to candidates from all classes by an effective system of Payment of Representatives, and freed from the veto of the House of Lords, the British parliamentary system will be, in the opinion of the Fabian Society, a first-rate practical instrument of democratic government.

Democracy, as understood by the Fabian Society, makes no political distinction between men and women.

The Fabian Society having discovered by experience that Socialists cannot have their own way in everything any more than other people, recognises that in a Democratic community Compromise is the first condition of political progress.

VII.—FABIAN SOCIALISM.

Socialism, as understood by the Fabian Society, means the organisation and conduct of the necessary industries of the country and the appropriation of all forms of economic rent of land and capital, by the nation as a whole, through the co-ordinate agency of the most suitable public authorities, parochial, municipal, local, national (Irish, Scotch, or Welsh, for instance) or central.

The Socialism advocated by the Fabian Society is State Socialism exclusively. The foreign friends of the Fabian Society must interpret this declaration in view of the fact that England now possesses an elaborate democratic State machinery graduated from the Parish Council or Vestry up to the central Parliament, and accessible to all classes alike, by which the opposition which exists in the other European monarchies between the State and the people is made impossible For example, the distinction made between State Socialism and Social Democracy in Germany, where the municipalities and other local bodies are closed against the working classes, has no meaning in England The difficulty in England is not to secure more political power for the people but to persuade them to make any sensible use of the power they already have.

VIII.—FABIAN INDIVIDUALISM.

The Fabian Society does not suggest that the State should enforce any monopoly of industry as against private enterprise or individual initiative, but simply that it should make the livelihood of the people and their access to the sources of production completely independent of both. The freedom of individuals to engage in industry independently of the State, and even in competition with it, is, subject to the above conditions, as highly valued by the Fabian Society as Freedom of Speech, Freedom of the Press, or any other article in the charter of popular liberties.

The Fabian Society strenuously maintains its freedom of thought and speech with regard to the errors of Socialist authors, economists, leaders, and parties, no less than to those of its opponents. It insists on the necessity of maintaining as critical an attitude towards Marx and Lassalle, some of whose views must by this time be discarded as erroneous or obsolete, as these eminent Socialists themselves maintained towards their predecessors, St. Simon and Robert Owen.

IX.—FABIAN JOURNALISM.

The Fabian Society, in its relations with the Press, makes no such distinction as that indicated by the phrase, "the Capitalist Press." In England all political papers without exception are conducted with private capital under the control of the owners of the capital. Some of them profess Socialist opinions, others Conservative opinions, others Liberal and Radical opinions and so forth. The Socialist papers are in no way more independent of social pressure than the others; and the superiority of a Socialist paper from the Socialist point of view is of exactly the same nature as the superiority of a Conservative paper from the Conservative point of view. The Fabian Society, in securing journalistic expression for its ideas, has no preference, except for the largest circulation.

X.—Fabians and the Middle Class.

In view of the fact that the Socialist movement has been hitherto inspired, instructed, led, and suffered for by members of the middle class or "burgeoisie," the Fabian Society, though not at all surprised to find these middle-class leaders attacking with much bitterness the narrow social ideals current in their own class, protests against the absurdity of Socialists representing the very class from which Socialism has sprung as specially hostile to it. The Fabian Society has no romantic illusions as to the freedom of the proletariat from these same narrow ideals. Like all other Socialist societies, it can only educate the people in Socialism by making them conversant with the conclusions of the most enlightened members of the middle classes and their pupils. The Fabian Society therefore cannot reasonably use the words "burgeois" or "middle class" as terms of reproach, more especially as it would thereby condemn a large proportion of its own members.

XI.—Fabian Natural Philosophy.

The Fabian Society endeavours to rouse social compunction by making the public conscious of the evil condition of society under the present system. This it does by the collection and publication of authentic and impartial statistical tracts, compiled, not from the works of Socialists, but from official sources. The first volume of Karl Marx's "Das Kapital," which contains an immense mass of carefully verified facts concerning modern capitalistic civilisation, and practically nothing at all about Socialism, is probably the most successful propagandist work ever published. The Fabian Society, in its endeavours to continue the work of Marx in this direction, has found that the guesses made by Socialists at the condition of the people almost invariably flatter the existing system instead of, as might be suspected, exaggerating its evils. The Fabian Society therefore concludes that in the natural philosophy of Socialism, light is a more important factor than heat.

XII.—Fabians and Brain Work.

The Fabian Society is fully alive to the social value of what is called "brain work," and deeply regrets that it cannot include under that description many of the speeches and articles produced at present in England either for or against Socialism.

XIII.—Fabian Repudiations.

The Fabian Society discards such phrases as "the abolition of the wage system," which can only mislead the public as to the aims of Socialism. Socialism does not involve the abolition of wages, but the establishment of standard allowances for the maintenance of all workers by the community in its own service, as an alternative to wages fixed by the competition of destitute men and women for private employment, as well as for commercial profits, commissions, and all other speculative and competitive forms of remuneration. In short, the Fabian Society, far from desiring to abolish wages, wishes to secure them for everybody.

The Fabian Society resolutely opposes all pretensions to hamper the socialisation of industries with equal wages, equal hours of labour, equal official status, or equal authority for everyone. Such conditions are not only impracticable, but incompatible with the equality of individual rights, which is fundamental in modern Democracy, and the equality of subordination to the common interest which is fundamental in modern Socialism.

The Fabian Society steadfastly discountenances all schemes for securing to any person, or any group of persons, "the entire product of their labour." It recognises that wealth is social in its orign and must be social in its distribution, since the evolution of industry has made it impossible to distinguish the particular contribution that each person makes to the common product, or to ascertain its value.

The Fabian Society desires to offer to all projectors and founders of Utopian communities in South America, Africa, and other eligible localities, its apologies for its impatience of such adventures. For the information of such projectors, and of all patrons of schemes for starting similar settlements and workshops at home, the Society announces emphatically that it does not believe in the establishment of Socialism by private enterprise, and will do nothing to encourage or assist those who do.

The Fabian Society does not put Socialism forward as a panacea for all the ills of human society, but only for those produced by defective organisation of industry and radically bad distribution of wealth.

XIV.—FINALLY,

The Fabian Society, by steadfastly refusing to sacrifice the interests of Socialism either to the mistakes of Socialists on the one hand, or the political convenience of the established political parties on the other, has been violently denounced from both sides, the Liberal and Socialist newspapers often vying with one another in their efforts to discredit the Fabian Society. The only compliments which the Fabian Society receives or expects from non-Fabian Socialists, are the applications for advice, speakers, and money, which are invariably made to it in all emergencies, and to which it always responds to the best of its ability.

General Office—276 Strand, London, W.C.

Report on Fabian Policy.

The Liverpool Fabian Society, while agreeing in the main with the policy of the London Society, as set forth in a pamphlet for the information of the Congress, is of opinion that the clause headed "Fabian Electoral Tactics" does not faithfully describe the policy of Fabians as a whole. The Liverpool Society has, therefore, unanimously resolved to place before the delegates this brief statement of its own electoral policy, in which, it believes, the majority of Fabians outside London would concur.

The Liverpool Fabian Society does not put forward Fabian candidates, but takes an active part in all elections. It allies itself with the Independent Labour Party, the Social-Democratic Federation, and the Trade-unions, in the endeavour to secure the election of Socialists upon all governing bodies; it assists in organising and unifying these elements of the young but growing Socialist political party, and supports Socialist candidates under all circumstances; it discourages the adoption of undesirable candidates, or such as cannot command the confidence of the working people, but when the candidate is duly nominated by the party the Society loyally strives to secure his return. Thus the Liverpool Fabian Society deems the building-up of a Socialist political organisation of more importance than the slight temporary advantage which might accrue from securing the return of the better of two non-socialist candidates.

In cases where no Socialist candidate is put forward the Liverpool Fabian Society endeavours to secure concessions from one of the two candidates in return for its support.

PICKINGS FROM THE REPORTS.

EACH nationality was expected to submit a report to the Congress showing the state of the movement in their country. The following are selections from such of the reports as were translated into English:

SWITZERLAND.

This report is taken up exclusively with a detailed account of an abortive attempt made by the executive of the Swiss Workers' League to call an International Congress to consider specially what legislation should be pushed for the protection of the workers. Germany and Austria declined definitely to take part, whilst other organisations wished the gathering well, but did not propose to send delegates. The report concludes as follows:

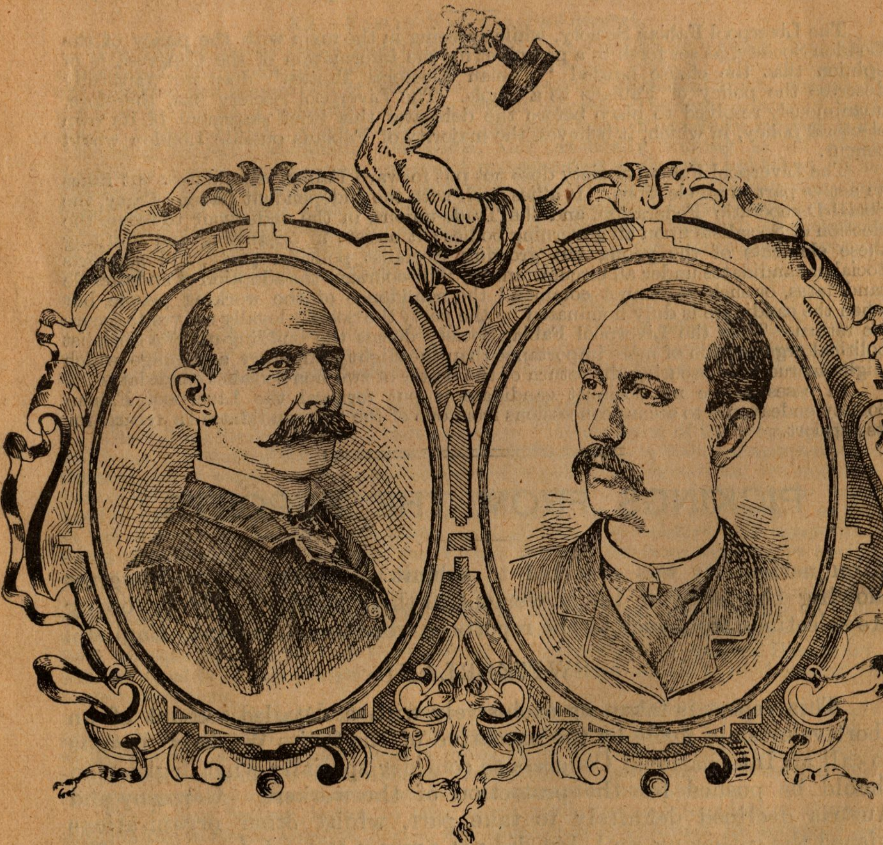
BRITISH COMRADES,—The Swiss delegates to the International Socialist Workers' and Trade-union Congress, who have come to your hospitable shores, bid hearty greetings to you the pioneers of Protective Labour Legislation. We know you have been in the first and hardest struggles for this legislation, and, therefore, call on you for assistance, although the Democratic constitutions

of your unions will not entitle you to give us a definite answer. But we beg you, as British delegates, to move in favour of the International Congress for Protective Labour Legislation as proposed by the Swiss Workers' League. In doing so, you will incite the workers of the other countries to join us. If we have won your solidarity, we shall certainly have the assistance of the workers of other countries.—Yours fraternally, for the Swiss Delegation,

HERMAN GREULICH.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

In the three years that have elapsed since the last International Labour Congress was held at Zurich, the progress of the Socialist movement in the United States was marked by a steadiness not less suggestive of solid foundations than promiseful of permanent results.



CHAS. H. MATCHETT.
Presidential Candidate United States.

MATTHEW MAGUIRE.
Vice-Presidential Candidate United States

In 1893 our party numbered 113 sections, chiefly located in four Eastern States. Since then the twenty-nine sections of the city of New York have been consolidated into one, and similar consolidations have been effected elsewhere; nevertheless, at this writing, the number of sections is 200, spread over twenty-five States.

The official count gives the latest Socialist vote as follows in States or towns where we had candidates:

New York (State)	21,625
New Jersey (State),	4,138
Massachusetts (State)	3,249
Ohio (State)	1,867
Rhode Island (State)	1,709
Pennsylvania (State)	1,326
Connecticut (State)	859
City of San Francisco (California)	2,104
City of Chicago (Illinois)	3,375
City of Denver (Colorado)	158
City of Baltimore (Maryland)	433
City of St. Louis (Missouri)	1,537
City of Detroit (Michigan)	358
Miscellaneous	237
Total	42,975

As compared with the official returns of the previous year, which gave us a total of 33,133, the above figures show an increase of 9821 votes, or 36 per cent.

Eight years ago, our field of political action was limited to the city of New York, where our candidates received only 2000 votes. Last year (1895), in the twin cities of New York and Brooklyn, which, taken together, constitute what is now known as the "Greater New York," 16,000 votes were cast for our ticket, showing an increase of 53 per cent. as compared with 1894.

A significant feature of our vote in New York State is its solidity; there was a difference of only thirty-five between our two leading candidates in a total poll of nearly 22,000.

In the spring of 1894 our party scored its first victory in the city of Paterson, N.J., where Comrade Matthew Maguire was elected a member of the Board of Aldermen by a vote of 890 against 888 for his Democratic opponent and 380 for the Republican candidate. In the spring of 1896 he was re-elected by a vote of 1324 against 1112 given to the Democrat, upon whom the two capitalistic parties had practically united, the Republican dummy candidate put up for the sake of appearances polling only 113.

Presented by

MATTHEW MAGUIRE,
Delegate of the Socialist Labour Party of the United States.
LUCIEN SANIAL,
Delegate of the Socialist Trade and Labour Alliance of the United States and Canada.

DUTCH REPORT, SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

COMRADES,—The present report tells of a period of struggle, which, we imagine, deserves some attention even outside the boundaries of our small country.

It is not the struggle against the property-holding classes and their government to which we owe the most painful experiences of the three years which have passed since the Zurich Congress. This struggle, the class war, is still carried on by our organisation with the same undaunted spirit. But what will give to the present report a gloomy aspect, and at the same time make it worth the attention of all organised workers whose experiences differ from ours, is the attempt to introduce discord in our own ranks from beyond the boundaries of our country, an attempt which, in spite of the victory gained by our organisation, has left deep traces behind.

After recounting the history of the Zwolle Congress in 1892, at which the party took the first step towards parting with parliamentary methods, and the police prosecutions which followed, together with the bitter personal misrepresentations to which they were subjected by a handful of opponents, the report tells of the Groningen Congress in 1894, where the following resolution was carried by 47 against 40 votes, with 14 abstentions: "The Congress decides not to take part in elections under any circumstances whatever, not even for purposes of propaganda." The minority were not opponents, and did not secede, only they felt the resolution was more the outcome of anger at the treatment they were being subjected to than of principle. A new party, however, was formed as the Dutch Social Democratic Party, fifty-four persons attending its first Congress.

"A brief communication in the dissident press threw a strong light upon the circumstances under which the new party was founded.

We all knew that financial considerations had had a great deal to do with it. Still, the members of our organisation were very much amazed and offended when they heard that the party treasury of the German Social Democratic Party had given £75 to the seceders for the purpose of backing up their organisation. As the information had been published in the dissident press itself, it was impossible to doubt the truth of it.

The executive committee of our party now addressed a letter to the Congress of the German Social Democrats, which took place at Francfort o. Main (21st to 27th October, 1894), and protested against this unheard of interference of the German Social Democratic *Reichstag-fraction* (the Social Democratic members of the Reichstag) with the inner organisation of the Socialist party in another country.

The letter of our executive committee asked: "At what International Congress has the German Social Democratic *Reichstag-fraction* been appointed as European party justice?"

After this letter had been read in the Congress Singer declared that the "Fraction" never had the slightest intention to interfere with the interior quarrels of any party abroad. "The committee of the party, at the request of some Dutch comrades, merely sent £102 10s. for the support of their press. That was only a proof of international solidarity, against which it is impossible to complain."

"But we who have met with the bitterest animosity of the German Social Democratic Party; we who during the last years have never found the information of the Berlin *Vorwärts* concerning the Socialist movement in Holland true, or seen in it an appreciative word concerning our party; we who are constantly referred to in the German party papers as 'braggarts,' feel justified to call the attention of the assembled delegates of international Labour to this inexcusable interference with the affairs of our organisation, and to protest against it. German influence is exerted even to-day in favour of the seceders, and it is the fault of the German Social Democratic Party and of the editors of their papers that our comrades consider every German Social Democrat as a caluminator of the Dutch Socialist movement, a briber, and an intriguer. Can conduct productive of such results be considered likely to advance the feeling of international brotherhood amongst the workers?"

As the Zwolle resolution had been deemed too binding, and was being misunderstood, the next Congress of the party at the Hague in 1895 adopted the following, which is still binding on the party :

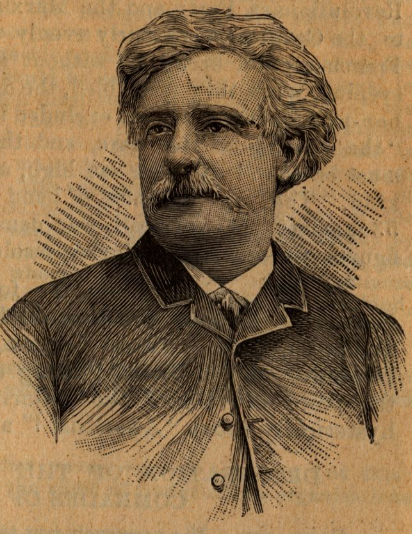
"In consideration that it is absurd to lay down binding rules dealing with questions of tactics which can only be settled as circumstances arise ; in consideration that our methods of propaganda depend to a large extent on the conduct of our opponents ; in consideration that participation in or abstention from voting is, after all, only a qustion of utility ; in consideration that the greatest danger to the success of the Socialist movement consists in participation in the so-called constructive work of parliament, and consequently that it is wrong to participate in the elections for that purpose ; that no money from the party treasury be expended for electioneering purposes."

This resolution is based on the conviction that it is absurd to took forward to bringing about an amelioration of the present economic conditions by the conquest of the political power, but that, on the contrary, the economic conditions fix and maintain the political. It maintains that the economic emancipation of the working classes is, and must remain, the great purpose to which all political considerations ought to be subordinated.

Had this, the International Congress, called itself "Parliamentary Socialist and Bourgeois Radical Congress," we would not—although until now we were represented at every international congress—have knocked at the door of the present one. But as long as it goes by the name of an "International Socialist and Trades-union Congress," as long we claim the right to be present.

We deserve very different treatment from that we met with from part of the German Social-Democratic press. The Berlin *Vorwarts* has spoken of the efforts we have made during 1895-6 in the following manner :

"The Dutch Anarchists of the Nieuwenhuis type move heaven and earth to be admitted to the International Socialist Congress. Admittance for these gentlemen is a question of life and death. If they do not find opportunity make some noise, they fall into oblivion. The London Organising Committee has not the slightest intention to satisfy the desire for notoriety of these gentlemen, and refers them to the well-known resolution adopted at Zurich. And now we have an opportunity to judge the famous courage of the men of action. Now they formally repudiate all connection with Anarchism in a circular addressed to all Socialist parties. All to be able to spend the same Socialists to whom they have referred for years past in terms of contempt and loathing. But the Congress, which shall have finally to decide this question, will certainly pronounce its judgment without hesitation."



PAUL LAFARGUE.

We must again state that there is no necessity for us to "formally repudiate" Anarchism, as we are not an Anarchistic but a Communistic party, organised on federative principles. We express our deep disgust at the conduct of the official organ of the German sister-party, conduct which has been similar in its character for the last few years."

The report concludes by stating that the Socialist League is on terms of friendship with the great trade-unions of Holland, and gives a list of fourteen papers issued by the party.

THE SPLIT IN THE FRENCH SECTION.

After the Congress adjourned on Monday, the French delegates met to consider the burning question of the admission of the Voluntaryists—that is, those who don't believe in State action. All the leaders were present, as were the rank and file—113 all told. In France the Allemanist party do not officially recognise State action, but rely chiefly on Trade-unionism and municipal action. The Bourse de Travail—Labour Exchange—is the centre of influence for this section. The Possibilists, on the other hand, are Opportunists, and use any weapon which for the moment comes handy with which to beat the enemy. The Party Ouvrier—Labour Party—belongs mostly to the Possibilists section. In addition to these there is the Revolutionary Party and the Marxists. It was known that the delegates to the Congress were fairly evenly divided, and on Monday morning the French section broke up without any decision being arrived at. In the evening, when they assembled, the discussion was again resumed—should non-parliamentarians be excluded? "We have reached," said Guesde, "the parting of the ways, and the decision reached at this Congress must be final." Feeling ran high, and the discussion was of an exciting kind. The vote by show of hand showed 55 for the Zurich resolution, 53 against. A roll call was demanded. and at the conclusion the figures were, for the Zurich resolution 56, against 57.

In the majority were the following members of the Chamber of Deputies: Edward Vaillant, M.P.; Marcel Sembat, M.P.; Edward Touissant, M.P.; Pascal Faberot, M.P.; Artine Grousier, M.P.; — Degeante, M.P. The following excellent statement of the case from the point of view of the majority is sufficient answer to those who hysterically shout "Anarchist!" at all who disagree with them:

DECLARATION OF THE FRENCH SECTION TO THE COMRADES OF THE CONGRESS.

COMRADES,—We approach you to present in brief terms to you, as members to the number of 972 of the duly appointed French delegation, the true facts which have occurred in the committee of our delegation. You do not know the facts, for it is in mutual hostility that Citizen Millerand has stated them. Citizen Vandervelde could only speak on the question of principle. At the commencement, on Monday, the members of the provisional bureau, Citizens Vaillant and Pedron, and the members of the mandate verifying commission were appointed unanimously. With the same unanimity were designated subsequently to sit in the Congress Bureau Citizens Vaillant and Eugène Guèrald. The first discussion took place on the proposition of Citizen Gabriel Deville, demanding that every delegate, even when receiving his mandate from a trade-union, should be questioned on his adhesion to political action before his mandate was declared valid. The majority decided against Deville's proposition, and no one withdrew. In the afternoon the same discussion was resumed on the initiative of Citizen Delory. It was proposed that France should vote at the Congress for Article XI., and that the Zurich decision be maintained. But here, comrades, we call your attention to the most supreme fact of the contest. Citizen Gabriel Deville and Citizen Jules Guesde declared, in the most positive manner, that the Zurich resolution involved the exclusion from the Congress of every delegate, even though with a mandate from a trade-union, who refused his adhesion to the Congress of public power. It is in this declaration that the vote took place against Article XI. That vote signified only that the majority of the French section intended to secure entire freedom to trade-unions. Now, on the following day (Tuesday), in the name of the bureau of the Congress, the president (Singer), supported by Citizen Vandervelde, announced officially that the Zurich Congress had never intended to restrain the trade-union mandate, and that every representative, regularly appointed by a trade-union, was to be admitted to the Congress. Therefore, the Congress confirmed the true view of the French section which had never asked for anything but that. So that the vote of our section was really vitiated in its form by the erroneous interpretation under which our vote was taken. After the vote of our section on Monday, a part of the majority withdrew, declaring their severance from the majority; the retiring secretary was replaced by Citizen Lavaud. A delegate of the minority violently attempted to carry off the bundle of mandates. In view of the official declaration in regard to the meaning of the Zurich Congress which condemned the pretensions of the minority, What did good faith demand? To recognise that the section had been led into error, and for the minority to return. Instead of this, the minority, persisting in its attitude of revolt against the majority, asked the Congress that the French delegations should be severed into two portions, in spite of the vote on Article XI., which disallowed any modification of the standing orders. The Congress, not knowing anything of the fraudulent conduct of which the majority had been the victims, and without so much as hearing even one representative of this majority, voted for this division into two sections of the French delegation. The vote prepared in the interests of this plot on the part of the leaders of the minority, and of the leaders of the Social Democratic German party, was supported, and was passed, mainly by the efforts of the latter. Thus we see nations like Bulgaria, Roumania, and Bohemia, etc., put a check on nations where the social movement is far more thorough and advanced, such is England, France, Iataly, Belgium, Holland, represented not by a mere handful of delegates, but by hundreds.

Here, then, are the facts.

COMRADES,—The time of the Congress has been wasted by a discussion commenced in fraud and continued in wounded pride, or through interested motives.

We declare—

1. That the French delegation has never wanted anything but this: "The absolute maintenance of the right of trades-union organisations against all political coercion."
2. That when the cards were handed out, the secretary of the delegation, Citizen Lavaud, declared that no card would be given to any delegate of the Anarchist group.

They (the minority) wish to establish the opinion that the majority of the French delegation is composed of Anarchists or of allies of Anarchists.

THIS IS ABSOLUTELY FALSE.

This majority is composed of delegates of political Socialist groups and of trade-union groups, and the delegates of both these groups have declared that they would strictly conform to the terms of the mandate with which they have been invested by their organisation.

Comrades, you will judge.—In the name of the unanimity of the duly appointed French Delegation,

ED. VAILLANT.
EUGENE GUERARD.

As showing that the French majority were correct in their rendering of the Zurich resolution, here is part of the interpretation thereof submitted at Zurich by the signatories and accepted unanimously:

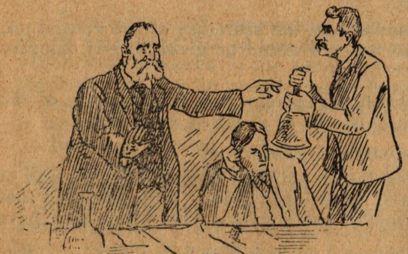
> "We declare moreover, that according to the rule, modified as it now is by the addendum, *no genuine trade or labour organisation is excluded from this or future Congresses or hampered in the choice of its delegates.*"
>
> (Signed) BEBEL, EDWARD, KANTOKY, OTTO LANG, ADLER.

SWEDEN.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY, 1893-1896.—The report recounts the political triumph of the party. Inspired by the example of Belgium arrangements were in progress for a general strike to force the hand of the Government in granting manhood suffrage and breaking the power of the nobles. In 1895 an attempt was made to stir up strife with Norway over the Home Rule question, and for a time war was threatened. By the prompt and vigorous action of the Socialists the trouble ended in the appointment of a Committee of revision for the Act of Union, though not before two Socialist editors and one speaker had been tried for *lese majestie*, the latter being fined 500 crowns. In May, 1896, a joint congress of Socialists and Radicals met—the two sections having been thrown together over the trouble about Norway—to decide on joint action for the future on the suffrage question. A fund of 52,000 crowns remained to be disposed of, but not one penny was voted for the general political strike—"the most important question" being voted down by 67 votes to 63. The result was an "open rupture in all concerning the propaganda between Socialists and Liberals." The Socialists still continue their propaganda, and the party keeps growing, the increase being from 10,230 paying members in 1895 to 12,203 in 1896. In this quaint fashion the report concludes: "With the best hopes we are awaiting the future; the work is harsh, but forward it is going."

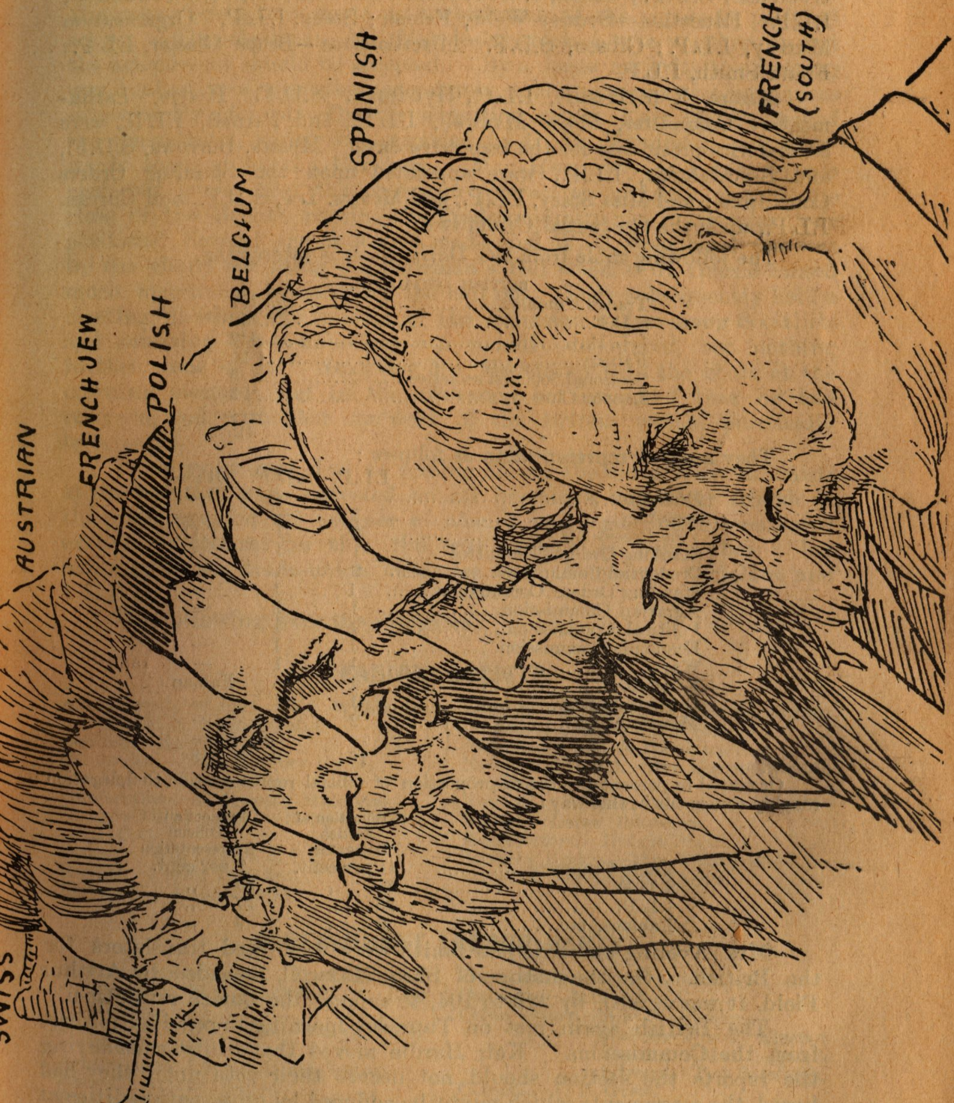
BRITISH SECTION.

On Monday morning the British delegates met in St. Martin's Town Hall. James Mawdsley and Tom Mann were nominated for the chair, when the former was elected by ten of a majority, the S.D.F. delegates voting solid for him. J. R. Macdonald and H. W. Lee were nominated for secretary, when Macdonald received 156 votes to 90 cast for Lee.



WILL THORNE ASKS THE CHAIRMAN TO BELL THE CAT.

The following was the outcome of the voting. The S.D.F. in *every case* voted for their own nominees only, and abstained from voting when I.L.P.ers were voted upon. Standing Orders—Curran, I.L.P.; Burrows, S.D.F. Agrarian—Watts, I.L.P.; Pearson, S.D.F. Political Action—Lansbury, S.D.F.; Glasier, I.L.P. Economic and Industrial Action—


AUSTRIAN
FRENCH JEW
POLISH
BELGIUM
SPANISH
FRENCH (SOUTH)
SWISS

A Perspective of Types at the International.

Hyndman, S.D.F.; Mann, I.L.P.; War—Barwick, S.D.F.; Pankhurst, I.L.P. Education—Sydney Webb, Fabian; Stacy, I.L.P. Organisation Murray, I.L.P.; Gibson, S.D.F. Miscellaneous—Bruce Glasier, I.L.P.; Frank Smith, I.L.P.

Messrs. Keir Hardie, I.L.P., Hyndman, S.D.F., Hodge, Parliamentary Committee, Shaw Maxwell, I.L.P., and Parnell, I.L.P., were elected vice-presidents for the respective days. Messrs. Burrows, S.D.F., and Brocklehurst, I.L.P., were appointed upon the Standing Orders Committee; and Miss Stacy, I.L.P., and Messrs. Lee, S.D.F., and Curran, I.L.P., upon the Credential Committee.

The following table from the *Daily News* is interesting.

BRITISH DELEGATES.	
Trades Unionist	177
S.D.F.	118
I. L. P.	112
Fabian	20
Sectional Socialist societies	5
Labour Church	3
	415

They secured representation as follows:

	I.L.P.	S.D.F.	Others.
President	—	—	T.U.
Secretary	1	—	—
Vice-Presidents	3	1	T.U.
Standing Orders Committee	1	1	—
Credential Committee	2	1	—
Standing Orders Commission	1	1	—
Agrarian Commission	1	1	—
Political Commission	1	1	—
Economic Commission	1	1	—
War	1	1	—
Education	1	—	Fabian
Organisation	1	1	—
Miscellaneous	2	—	—
	16	9	3

Or stated in percentages the disproportion of official representation to delegation roughly comes out in this way:

	Proportion of British Delegates.	Proportion of Official Representation
Trade Unionists	41 per cent.	7 per cent.
S.D.F	28 ,,	33 ,,
I.L.P.	25 ,,	57 ,,
Fabians, etc.	6 ,,	3 ,,

Mrs. Aveling and Adolphe Smith were appointed translators for the British. On the motion of Shaw Maxwell, seconded by Arthur Field, it was agreed, by 223 to 104, to support the Zurich resolution.

The British again met on Thursday morning to consider reports from the Commissions. Keir Hardie moved that whilst considering the reports the section should not decide their vote until they had heard the arguments which might be adduced by other nationalities at the Congress. This was defeated. It was resolved to support the majority report of the Agrarian Commission. Sidney Olivier carried his new standing order *re* the verification of credentials, afterwards adopted by the Congress.

At one o'clock the same day the section again met. Dan Hennessey wished to move an amendment to the report on political action. The chairman, Mr. Mawdesley, took a vote whether or not the amendment should be accepted. By a large majority the meeting was against receiving the amendment, and the report as a whole was subsequently adopted. On the education report Keir Hardie moved the amendment, which was seconded by H. M. Hyndman, and afterwards accepted by the Congress. Mr. Hennessey and his friends protested loudly that the chairman was acting unfairly, and at the close of the British meeting the Trade-unionists met to consider their position. Several speeches were made, and W. C. Steadman, who was in the chair, was using the chairman's bell when Will Thorne caused much merriment by carrying the bell off. They subsequently held a meeting, at which the conduct of the chairman in favouring Socialists and snubbing Trade-unionists was roundly denounced, but nothing further came of it. Next day Mr. Mawdesley took the chair at the morning meeting, but in the afternoon he intimated that he had resigned, and with that the work of the British section practically terminated.

There was a good deal of feeling among the older Trade-unionists at the way they were outvoted on all questions, and their friends in the press invented all manner of absurd and sometimes discreditable excuses to account for this, the true explanation being that a big majority of the trade-union delegates were themselves Socialists and I. L. P. ers.

The following were the delegates :

FABIAN SOCIETY.

Aberystwyth. — John W. Wilkinson, Oswald S. Griffiths, B.A.
Bedford.—Robert Steele.
Cambridge.—Mrs. Margery Irvine.
Dublin.—G. Bernard Shaw.
Dunfermline.—J. Ramsay Macdonald.
Glasgow University. — Sidney Webb, L C.C.
Jarrow.—Will Crooks, L.C.C.
Kendal.—Pearcy Dearmer.
Liverpool.—Jeannie Mole.
London.—Miss Emma F. Brooks, Sydney Olivier, Edward R. Pease.
Maidstone.—Jessie Hawkins.
Newcastle (Staffs). — Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch.
Newhall.—William Oakley.
Oxford. – Lucas Oldershaw.
Ramsbottom.—Hubert Bland.
Sowerby Bridge.—Mrs. Sidney Webb.
Swindon. - -Frederick Whelen.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

Administrative Council.—Tom Mann, Dr. Richard M. Pankhurst, J. Keir Hardie.
Arbroath (N.B).—Enid Stacy, Percy Widdington.
Ashton-under-Lyne.—James Sexton.
Batley.– Arthur Hudson.
Blackburn.—James Frankland.
Brechin.—John C. Henry.
Brighton.—Arthur Field.
Bristol.—Delmar Bicker-Caarten.
Bristol (East).—J. Scullard.
Bromley (Kent).—Thomas Gascoigne.
Cambuslang.—David Lowe.
Chatham.– Arthur Field.
Colne Valley.—Ada S. Goulden.
,, (Labour Union) Eleanor Keeling (Mrs. Joseph Edwards), Tom Bamforth.
Consett.—J. F. Green.
Dundee.—Will Kidd, John Watson, James Oliver, Mary L. Watson, Annie L. Kidd.
Edinburgh (East).—M. Rose-Ross-Mac-Gilchrist-Gilchrist.
Edinburgh (South).—John Robertson.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY—*Continued.*

- Erith.—Alec Frank.
- Gateshead.—A. R Minifil.
- Glasgow.—
  - Lanarkshire District Council.—J. Shaw-Maxwell.
  - Hutchesontown.—John Bruce Glasier.
  - St. Rollox.—J. Evans Woolacott.
  - Dennistoun.—James Shaw-Maxwell.
  - Tradeston.—John Tweeddale.
  - Central.—A. Galbraith.
- Gorton (St. Mark's).—Sam Brierly.
- Hibden Bridge.—John Lister.
- Huddersfield.—Fritz E. Gardner.
- Leeds.—
  - Central.—Thomas Mawhinny Watt.
  - District Council.—Jos. Clayton.
  - East.—Mary Foster.
  - West.—Fenton Macpherson.
- Lincoln.—Joseph Burgess.
- Liverpool.—Robert T. Manson.
  - (West Derby).—H. J. Masters.
- London.—
  - Bermondsey.—Chas. Henry Chapman, William Charles Portman.
  - Central Branch.—Harold Creswell, Bessie Walter.
  - Central Finsbury.—Amy Morant, L. A. Toke.
  - Deptford.—Harold Davis.
  - East Dulwich.—John Penny, Mrs. Nellie Campbell.
  - Ex. Council.—Paul Campbell.
  - Hackney.—William Bell.
  - Hammersmith.—Robert Alexander Muncey, Edwin James Neville.
  - Islington.—Tom Naylor, Fred. S. Shillaker.
  - Kilburn and Hampstead —Henry B. Samuels
  - Marylebone —Paul Vogel.
- London *(continued)*.—
  - North Kensington.—Daniel Carroll.
  - Penge.—Henry T. Muggeridge.
  - St. Pancras.—Tom Chambers.
  - West Islington.—Richard Triggs.
  - West Southwark.—James Lyon.
  - Willesden.—George Thomas Monson, William James Pincome.
- Long Eaton.—Edmund Billings.
- Maidstone.—E. B. Aveling, Jim Connell.
- Manchester —Herbert Blundell, Emmeline Pankhurst, James Riley, N. H. Griffiths, Sam Brierly, Samuel Malley, Fred Brocklehurst.
- Mansfield.—Mrs. Bruce Glasier.
- Middlesboro'.—John Mahoney.
- Newcastle-on-Tyne.—James Leakey.
- Newport, Mon. -John H. Roberts, Elsie Harker.
- Norwich.—Laurence Meredith Byles.
- Oldham.—J. R. Clynes.
- Paisley.—Rev. Tom Warren.
- Partick.—Frank Smith *pro* Caroline Martyn.
- Plymouth.—Wm. F. Rëan.
- Portsmouth.—John J. Whetter, William A. Allen, William Sutherland, Richard Haworth.
- Salford, Manchester.—John Hampsall, Andrew Chester Burn.
- Seven Oaks.—Arthur Hickmott.
- Southampton.—Eliza Passmore.
- Sunderland.—James Turner, David Bell, William Key.
- Stockton.—Robert Alex Peddie.
- Tayport, Scotland. - George Bates, Henry Davis.
- Tottenham.—Robert William Broadbank.
- West Ham, London.—Henry Davis.
- Woolwich.—Jas. Kerr, Edward Anstey.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION.

- Bacup.—Charles M'Lean.
- Barry.—Matthew Sheppard.
- Barrowford.—James Edmond Nowell.
- Birmingham (East).—Joseph Gregory, John Michael O'Fallon.
- Blackburn.—Thurnia Jarvis, Albert Brooks.
- Bradford.—Mrs. M. Holgate.
- Burnley.—Peter Walker, James Roberts, Richard Driver, Dan Irvine.
- Clitheroe.—James Henry Riley.
- Colne.—Mrs. Whiting.
- Coventry.,—George Poole, James C. Heaviside, J. Hunter Watts.
- Edinburgh.—Robert Allen, Alexander Millar, George Yates. John Bain.
- Glasgow.—Frederick Willis.
- Great Harwood.—Dan Irvine.
- Grimsby.—S. Marks.
- Hamilton.—William Small.
- Hanley, Staff.—R. Weston.
- Heywood.—John Birch.
- Ilkeston.—Mrs. Despard.
- Leeds.—Joseph Chatterton, J. W. Barwick, John Dickinson.
- Leigh, Lancs.—W. J. Barwick.
- Lincoln.—John Giles, J. Dutton, Fred. Louch.
- Liverpool.—Joseph Goodman.
- London.—Henry M. Hyndman, Henry Quelch, Henry W. Lee, John E. Williams.
  - Battersea.—Edith Lanchester, Harry B. Rogers, Mary Gray (Mrs.).
  - Bethnal Green.—Arthur Marshall.
  - Bow and Bromley.—George Lansbury.
  - Brixton.—Mary E. Boyd, Geo. Green.
  - Camberwell, North.—Chas. Backwell.
  - Canning Town.—August Cyclensky.
  - Clerkenwell.—Mrs. Thornton Smith.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION—*Continued.*

London *(Continued).*—
Croydon.—Harry T. Muggeridge, John W. Straughan.
Deptford, W. T. Gooday.
Finsbury Park.—Lorenzo E. Quelch.
Hackney.—Walter Power.
Hoxton —George Powell.
Islington, South.—Christian Kuypers.
Kennington.—Archibald Stevens, G. J. Hodson.
Kentish Town. — James Boutcher, Albert Lucas.
Kensal Town.—Clara Hendin (Mrs.), Charles S. Hendin,
Kilburn.—John Edward Frisby.
Kingsland.—William Wentker.
Lambeth, North.—Edmund G. Roe.
Leytonstone.—Robert Rosetti.
Marylebone, (East).—Alfred E. Higgins
,, (West).—T. Sanscoon.
Mile End.—William George Pearson.
Newington West.—Harry A. Burford, Ellen Burford, Joseph Beesey.
Plumstead.—Charles Martin.
St. George's, Wapping.—Charles Ellis.
Strand.—E. Belfort Bax.
Stratford. — J. Cavanagh, William Henry Fisher, Samuel Robins, Maurice Russell.

London *(Continued).*—
Walthamstow —Cres. Cunnew.
Walworth.—Sidney Oliver.
Whitechapel.—Shayer Marx.
St. Mary's, E.—John Muller.
Wimbledon.—William Raymond Cecil.
Nelson, Lancs.—Rose Jarvis (Mrs.), Jas. Henry Riley.
Northampton.—Frederick Lessner.
Norwich.—Walter Smith.
Nottingham.—Charles A Gibson.
Oxford.—William Hines.
Padiham —Edward Wheeler.
Rochdale.—Maria Holmes.
Reading.—Luther Waring, Ernest B. Savage.
Rawtenstall. —Tom Jarvis, James M'Pherson.
Salford (Manchester).—Frederick Lessner, Thos. Matthews, Joseph Leech.
Smethwick.—H. W. Jordain.
Southampton.—Thos. Lee, Frank Porter.
Todmorden.—Charles Alfred Horsfall.
Truro (Cornwall). — Vincent Charles Roberts.
Tunbridge Wells.—Mrs. Rose Jarvis.
Wigan.—George Naylor.
Wood Green.—Charles Carter, Charles Horn, Edward Plunk, Adam Taylor.

HAMMERSMITH SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

May Morris Sparling. Samuel Bullock. Thomas J. Cobden Sanderson.

BRISTOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

Robert S. Gillard.

OXFORD DISTRICT SOCIALIST UNION.

Frederick J. Hente.

LABOUR CHURCH UNION.

Leeds.—Mary A. Foster. Bradford.—Edwin Halford. Manchester.—H. C. Rowe.

TRADES' AND LABOUR COUNCILS.

Bradford Trade and Labour Council and Building Federation.—Frederick William Jowett, Alderman, B.C.C.
Brighton Trade and Labour Council.—Williams Gellie Hugh
Crewe Trades' Council.—Henry Bacchus.
Dover and District Trades' Council.—Arthur Field.
Leicester Trades' Council.—Councillor H. H. Wooley.
Leeds Trades' Council.—Arthur Shaw.
Liverpool Trades' and Labour Council.—John Shannon.
London—Hackney Labour Electoral Council.—John Wm. Martin.
London Trades' Council.—John Morgan, Ben Cooper.
London—West Ham and District Trades' and Labour Council.—Douglas Clack.
Manchester and Salford Trades' and Labour Council.—Henry Preston, Councillor J. E. Sutton.
Newcastle Trades' and Labour Council.—Thomas Wilkinson.
Nottingham and District Trades' Council.—Henry Staton.

TRADES AND LABOUR COUNCILS—*Continued.*

Oldham Trades' Council —J. R Clynes.
Rochdale and District Trades' Council.—James Firth.
Sheffield Trades' Council.—Councillor W. T. Wardley, Stuart Wardley, Chas. Hobson.
Southport District Trade and Labour Council.—David Richards.
Sunderland Trades' Council —Thomas Summerbell.
Surrey, Chatham, and District Trades' Council —George Dew.
Tunbridge Wells Trades' Council.—David Geer.
Wolverhampton Midland Counties Trades' Federation.—Thomas Jones.
Yorkshire Federated Trades' and Labour Council.—Ben Turner.

TRADES' UNIONS.

Anvil-Makers —Thomas Wooldridge.
Barge-Builders.—W C. Steadman.
Basket-Makers' London Union.—Thomas Dobson.
Bakers' Amalgamated London Union —Fred. Ryan, Geo. H. Lee, Thos. Vewkers.
Blast-Furnacemen's National Federation.—Patrick Watts, Thomas Walton.
Bookbinders —H. B King
Boot and Shoe Operatives' National Union.—W. B. Hornidge, Chas. Freak, L.C.C., Thomas Frederick Richard, R. Cost.
Card Blowing Room Operatives' Amalgamated Association —Wm. Mullin, Michael Connolly, Wm. H. Cave.
Cabinetmakers' Alliance.—Wm. Parnell, Richard Tank.
Cabinetmakers' Progressive —Morris Supirstein, Robert Harper.
Cabinetmakers' Perseverance.—Francis Watson.
Chainmakers' National Amalgamation.—Noah Forest.
Chasers and Engravers —Frank W. Galton.
Cigarmakers.—Wm. Caiger.
Coach-Body-Makers.—Thomas Morgan.
Coach-Makers' United Kingdom.—E. J. Wood.
Coach-Makers' Operative Federation.—P. Phillips.
Coal Porters' Union.—Henry Bull, Thomas Twigg.
Coal Porters' Union N.A.C.P U.—Thomas Westbury.
Compositors' London Society.—J. Galbraith, C. W. Bowerman.
Compositors' United Hebrew —Wm. Wess
Cigarettemakers' International.—Wm. Wess
Dock Workers.—Ben Tillett, Harry Orbell, Tom M'Carthy.
Domestic Servants' Union.—Thomas E. Barnes.
Dyers' Amalgamated —Theophilus Warner, Joseph Hayhurst.
French Polishers —Albert A. W. Purcell
Farrier's Permanent Amalgamated —Frederick Hazell.
Garment Dyers.—Francis Kitz.
Glass Bevellers' National Plate.—Chas. Britton, Chas. Robert Britton.
Glass Blowers, London.—George Rose.
Glass Bottle Makers, Yorkshire United.—A. Greenwood, Theobald Velkel.
Gold Beaters.—Joseph Pye.
Hosiery Workers' Rotary Society.—Sam Bowyer.
Hosiery Workers' Leicester Society.—James Holmes.
Labourers' United Builders, London.—W. Geard, W. Stevenson.
Labourers, Navvies, Bricklayers, London.—A. Humphreys, L.C.C.
Labourers' Gas Workers' Union.—J. Callaghan, Edward Aveling, P. Curran, Henry Ashpole, E. M. Aveling, C. E. Brown, J. Walker, S. Lakin, Will Thorne, R. Kenny, G. W. Hall.
Labourers' Protection League.—James Geo. King.
Lithographic Artists' National Society.—James Robert Littler.
Lithographic Printers' Amalgamated Society.—Geo. D. Kelley, J.P.
Machinists' International (Upper).—Joseph Presburg.
Manchester Glass Blowers.—J. J. Rudge, J. H. Walker.
Mantle Makers' Union.—Joseph Finn.
Masons and Granite Cutters.—Alex. Robertson.
Match Makers' Union.—Lewis Morgan, Herbert Burrows.
Midland Counties' Federation.—Thomas Sitch, Wm. Mullerchip, John Taylor.
Millers' National Union.—W. J. Salmon.

TRADES' UNIONS—*Continued.*

Miners' Federation.—Ben Pickard, M.P,, Thos. Ashton, E. Edwards, James Haslam, Thomas Greenall, Benjamin Bean, Stanley Albert, Wm. Johnson, F. Sharp, Stephen Bentham, Thomas Tinker, James Murray, Thomas Aspinall, W. E. Harvey.
Miners' Ayrshire Federation.—Percy Alden.
Musical Instrument Makers.—M. L. Dru. J. Deletant.
Painters' (House) Amalgamated Society.—H. A. Barker, E. C. Gibbs.
Pattern Makers' United Association.—Wm. Moses.
Platen Machine Minders.—Chas. Turnbull.
Plasterers' N.A.O.—D. Hennessey.
Portmanteau Makers.—James Mitchell.
Power Loom Overlookers.—Harry Starkie, John Side Bottom, James E. Tattersall.
Railway Workers.—Andrew Clark.
Rope Makers' Union —Amie Hicks.
Sailors' and Firemen's National Union.—Leslie M. Johnson, B. Kersey, E. Cathery.
Salt Workers (Alkali).—Wm. Yarwood.
Shop Assistants' Union.—Wm. G. Arnold.
Shipwrights' Associated.—John Jenkins, T.C,, J.P., Alex. Wilkie.
Silversmiths' Trade Society.—James Bailey Howard.
Silver Trades (London) —Frank Wallace Galton.
Steel and Ironworkers' Amalgamated.—John Cronin.
Steel Smelters' Amalgamated Association.—Wm. Clark.
Trade and Provident Society (West of England).—John Fox, I. Hooper.
Tailor Machinists' Independent.—Aaron Rosebery.
Tailors' Amalgamated Society.—Herman Roland, Marks Shayer, Terence A. Flynn, Edward Maddin, John Hollings, Edward M'Leod, Michael Bryne, Michael Frenchman.
Tailors' Jewish Society.—John Dyseke, Sam Freedman.
Tailoresses.—Isabella O. Ford.
Tool Makers, Engineers, and Machinists.—Thomas Lafferty.
Tooth and Nail Brush Union.—John J. Chappell.
Theatrical and Music Hall Union.—Wm. Johnson.
Upholsterers' Amalgamated Union.—I. Palmer.
United Government Workers' Federation.—Joseph George Butler.
Weavers and Textile Workers.—Allen Gee, W. H. Drew.
Weavers' Amalgamated.—David Holmes, J.P.
Weavers (Blackburn District).—Wm. Crockett, Geo. Houlder.
Weavers' Northern Counties Amalgamated.—Councillor Wm. F. Wilkinson, Robert Parkinson, Squire Greenhaigh, Charles Farrer.
Women's Trade Union League.—W. Adolphé Smith, Marriam Barry.
Women's Industrial Council.—Margaret Ethel Gladstone, Frances James, Jeannie Mole.

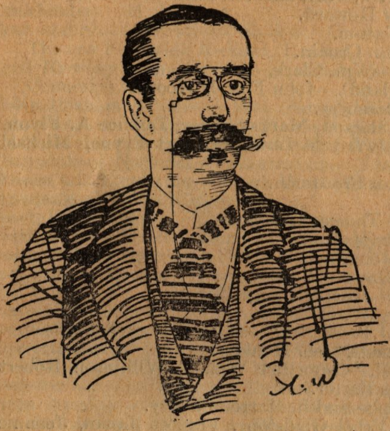
ANARCHIST-SOCIALIST CONFERENCE.

THE Anarchist-Socialists and Free Communists present at the International, together with those excluded, determined to interchange opinion when the Congress itself was not sitting. St. Martin's Town Hall was secured from the Congress Organising Committee, and the following agenda drawn up for discussion: (1) Reports from various nations. (2) Anarchist-Socialism *versus* State Socialism. (3) Parliamentary action and its fallacies. (4) General industrial strike. (5) War and military strike. (6) Trade-unionism, Co-operation *versus* labour legislation. (7) Gradual reform and revolution. (8) Propaganda among agricultural labourers. (9) Crime and the criminal class. (10) Anarchism and violence. Any other question proposed will be discussed after agenda has been disposed of.

All delegates to the International were welcome to be present, and there was a good attendance throughout. Fernand Pelloutier, secretary of the Federated Labour Exchange of France and Algiers, reported for 250,000 Trade-unionists, who, he said, were losing faith in politics, and were inclining more to the general strike. The Marxists had made great but unavailing efforts to capture the unions, and hence their bitter opposition to them. Delesalle followed, and after a discussion it was resolved not to hear further reports, owing to the shortness of time at the disposal of the Congress. The reports ready were England, the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Italy, Spain, the United States, with special reports from Berne, Geneva, and Lausanne (Switzerland), Milan (Italy), Roumania, and Sweden. At the second sitting Domela Nieuwenhuis moved a resolution on the

LAND QUESTION,

declaring that the cultivators of the soil were suffering from the same evils as other workers—private ownership of land and capital; that the Marxist parties of France, Belgium, and Germany were afraid to offend the peasant proprietor voters, for whom they proposed special reforms; that the peasant proprietor could not hold his own in competition with the big landlord; that land, like the other means of production, must become common property, therefore the Conference declares it to be the duty of Revolutionary Communists to organise the labourers in trade-unions, to enable them to hold their own against their present employers and prepare them for taking over the cultivation of the soil in future for the good of the community. Leon Parsons, a French delegate; Hunter Watts, of the S.D.F., who advocated political measures and referred to Parish Councils as a case in point; T. Zochatti, who replied to Watts. Emile Pouget, of the *Pere Peinard*, now *La Sociale*, spoke at some length in criticism of both Domela and Parsons. The peasant had to be taught that the State, in all its forms, was now and always had been his enemy. E. Malatesta concurred with Pouget. They should teach the peasant proprietor and the agricultural labourer to use every weapon—not only Trade-unionism, but a strike against rent and taxes. Collectivist cultivation would have strong attractions for the peasant when he understood it, and it was their business to teach him. Landauer,


FERNAND PELLOUTIER.

Berlin, criticised the Marxist treatment of the land question. He was opposed to large farms, believing that intensive culture would lead to the cultivators grouping themselves in free autonomous groups, which was on the lines they advocated ; large farms were but a form of State Socialism. He moved the following as a summary of their principles :

The Anarchists reject the fatalistic and Jesuitical Marxian theory which declares the spread of capitalism on a large scale, and the elimination of the small producers to be necessary conditions of the realisation of Socialism. On the land question they declare as follows: 1. We reject State aid, not because we desire to bring about the revolution by withholding aid from small peasant proprietors, nor because we deem it impossible to help them, but because every act of State interference leads to the perpetuation of, and exploitation by, the State ; 2. We desire to spread the principles of free Socialism among labourers and peasants ; 3. We desire that peasant proprietors hinder their proletarisation by associating themselves with their labourers in agricultural co-operative associations, and thus hindering the growth of landlordism and creating organisations which may be the nucleus of a Socialist society ; 4, Where it is impossible to give effect to the foregoing at present, we recommend labourers, peasant proprietors, and farmers, to unite for an energetic struggle against their exploiters.

After Comrades Lini (Italian) and Nieuwenhuis had summed up the debate, the Conference passed on to

INDUSTRIAL PROPAGANDA.

D. Nicoll spoke of the miners of England as offering a good field for propaganda and as being almost ripe for the general strike, and Gerrard said the French railway workers were in much the same position. Both spoke favourably of Trade-unionism, as did E. Leggat, whilst C. Troublich, whilst approving of Trade-unionism, warned Anarchists against losing sight of the general propaganda in the detail work. A Zurich delegate described a movement there combining distributive Co-operation with Trade-unionism, which they hoped soon to develop into productive work as well. In this way funds for propaganda were obtained and the workers weaned from State Socialism and taught the principles of Free Communism. Louise Michel advocated the general strike. Partial strikes fail and partial revolts fail and lead to hecatombs of victims from the best of the workers. A general strike would mean a general revolt which could not be put down by massacres. Their duty was to organise the miserable and downtrodden for this last great effort for freedom.

The following resolution was submitted by a Russian comrade, and practically endorsed by the Conference, though there was no time for a lengthy discussion :

RESOLUTION ON "GENERAL STRIKE" AND "POLITICAL ACTION."

Considering that all Anarchist-Socialists agree that the emancipation of the labouring masses by organised struggle against Capital by means of a general strike is absolutely impossible without systematic struggle against the monopolised State :

This Conference decides to work out a clear and practicable plan of permanent campaign against the State :

And further considering that the source of political power lies, not in parliamentary majorities, but in the natural political rights of each and all adult individuals composing the population of countries ; and that while giving up those natural rights to the government in the shape of votes for their deputies, the electors are voluntarily depriving themselves of the right of direct control over the corrupted machinery of State;

And further, that the government cannot make use of the thus acquired political power without money, which they receive from the same individuals composing the population;

This Conference recommends:

(1) *All adult citizens* to demand from the Government at once and by all means of agitation and pressure at their disposal, obligatory referendum for the approval of the communal mass meetings of all vital *economic* resources of the very existence of the Government, viz., *yearly budgets*, *extraordinary war credits*, and *all measures of taxation*.

(2) To refuse to pay those taxes which they are not morally obliged to pay without their own previous and direct approval.

(3) To persuade the electors to limit the mandates of their deputies in Parliament (if they choose to send them at all), depriving them of the right of final vote on those *economic* enactments.

(4) To organise all who are already fighting against Capital for a general *Political Strike* against the State, monopolised by the capitalist class, until the people receive the right of direct and full control over the economic functions of State.

This meant, he said, to add a strike against the State by refusing to pay taxes and by refusing military service to the industrial strike, which was part of their propaganda. Nieuwenhuis, in supporting this, said the official Congress narrowed the term "political action" too much.

THE ASSASSINATION OF THE CZAR OF RUSSIA

And the abolition of the State were political acts — of which parliamentarianism was only a part, though the Marxists claimed it as the whole. J. C. Kenworthy dwelt on the necessity of abolishing force and moralising the movement. "The true programme," he said, in a written declaration, "of Free Socialism or Anarchism is the conquest of the organisation of industry. This must be accomplished through Free Socialist co-operation as the means of carrying on democratic industry, and through the destruction of the State by the withdrawal from it of the masses of the people. Government by force must thus be ended. Our movement is one of character, and can only be carried on by the self-development and increase of moral quality in each man and woman, as this only can enable the co-operation of free people."

Dr. Gamplowitz handed in the following: "Politics means the struggle for domination. We Anarchists do not struggle for domination, do not want to replace existing domination by a new form of it: we seek No Rule, hence our action can only be non-political and anti-political, and least of all of an aggressive military character. We can make State power crumble away by refusing our service to the State and by exhorting our followers to act in a like manner, but we cannot oppose aggressive power by aggressive power on our part, for this leads to a new rule of force and not to freedom."

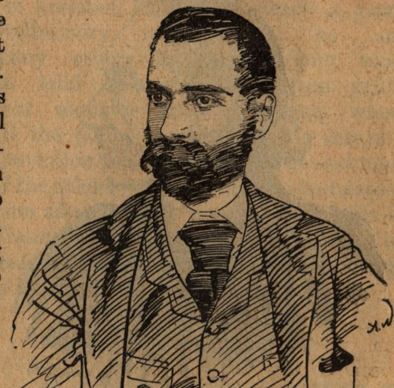
There being no time to discuss these, no expression of opinion was elicited. A. C. Burn, of the I.L.P., and L. Gros, a Marseilles Trade-unionist, spoke a few words expressing the pleasure with which they had listened to the proceedings. P. Gori read a letter of fraternal greeting from a number of Anarchists transported by the Italian Government. It was meant for the official Congress, but Comrade Gori said the intolerance and bias displayed there towards everything savouring of Anarchy made him decide to read it to them instead. An appeal from Armenia was also distributed asking for men and arms, not cheap, maudlin sympathy, of which they had had more than enough.

Thus terminated a most interesting Conference, which only lack of time, due to the fact that it could only sit when the official Congress had risen, prevented from being a complete success.

SOME NOTABLE ANTI-PARLIAMENTARIANS.

AN International Mass Meeting under the auspices of the Anarchist-Socialist Anti-Parliamentary Committee was held on Tuesday of the Congress week to welcome delegates. Speakers of world-wide reputation were announced to speak, among whom were the following:

FRANCESCO SAVERIO MERLINO,



of Naples, born some forty odd years ago, of a family of high legal dignitaries, became a lawyer himself, but from the first took up the defence of political prisoners (those of Benevent, 1877, etc.) until he became one himself as an Anarchist and internationalist propagandist. After other persecutions he was involved in 1883-84 in a great trial for being a member of the International. After many months in prison he escaped and was then sentenced to three years' imprisonment. His ten years of exile life now began, during which time he not only supported the Italian propaganda by steady literary contributions, etc., but also helped the comrades of the countries where he lived in their own movements. This he did in England, the United States, in France (where he barely escaped two years' imprisonment, and was expelled), in Belgium (expulsion), in Germany (the same). It is said that he also braved greater dangers, and in January, 1894, the month of the Massa Carrara revolt, and of, as it appeared then, an imminent revolution in Sicily and all over Italy, he was arrested at Naples, and now had to serve the remaining two years' imprisonment (released in February, 1896). A new trial was invented against him for his "crimes" when abroad, but the jury acquitted him (Florence, 1895). He is now living in Italy.

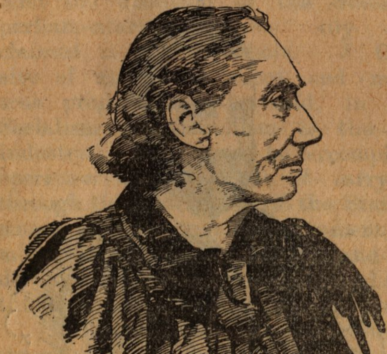
Doctor Merlino contributed to a large number of Italian and other Anarchist papers; also more elaborated articles to the Brussels *Société Nouvelle*, etc.; two volumes of his are "Socialismo or Monopolismo" (Naples, 1887); and "L'Italié telle quelle est" (Paris, 1890). He was a delegate to the International Congress at Paris, 1889, where he was insulted in a mean way (as told in full in London *Liberty*, June, 1896), and to the Brussels Congress (1891), where the police arrested and expelled him.

GUSTAVE LANDAUER,

editor of the Berlin *Socialist*—one of the Independent Socialists, since evolved into Anarchists, who were expelled from the Zurich Congress. A few months after that he had to undergo about 18 months' imprisonment—one of the long series of condemnations the editors of that paper had to undergo one after the other until it finally succumbed for a few months, but was revived again, and is spreading Anarchism in Germany as vigorously as ever.

LOUISE MICHEL,

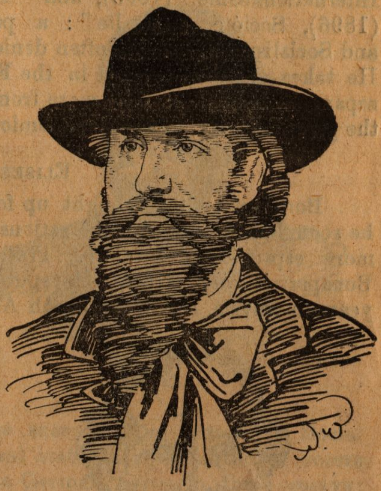
of Vroncourt (Haute-Marne). Her early life is told by herself in her "Mémoires" (Paris, 1886). She became a teacher, and imbued the children with Republican and anti-religious ideas; taking part in all the Socialist movements at close of the Empire, culminating in the Paris Commune. She was one of the bravest of its defenders, and nevertheless one of those women on whom the whole fury of the bourgeoise seemed to be concentrated. Still, her attitude in prison under trial silenced the vilest abusers; there and during a nine years' transportation life in New Caledonia, she always gave herself entirely up to help her comrades and fellow-sufferers. Returned to Paris in 1880, she at once entered the Anarchist movement, lecturing and writing indefatigably. Arrested after the Esplanade des Invalides meeting when the starved unemployed took bread from a baker's shop, she was sentenced to six years' imprisonment (released in 1886 by an amnesty which she refused to accept). Working again for the cause, it remained for the Government of Constans to insult her—for whom, as they knew, prison had no terrors—by trying to put her away as insane. Upon this, after the May-day demonstrations of 1890, she went to live in England, whence, only a few months back, she returned for a time to France.



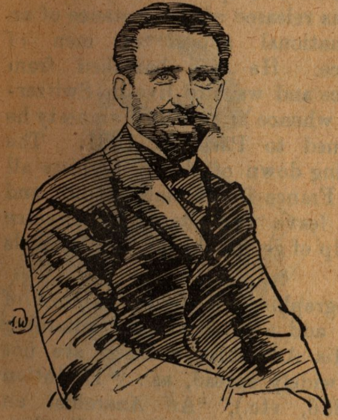
Her works are pamphlets, novels, verses—lately she is writing a

"History of the Commune"—but these do not equal the power of her living voice, and of the example set by her life of abnegation, help, and sacrifice.

AMLICARE CIPRIANI.



A Garibaldian and, later on, a soldier of all peoples striving for freedom, which léd him to Crete and Egypt, and finally to the Paris Commune, where, at a sortie, at the side of Flourens (killed), he was made prisoner. After nine years' imprisonment and exile, hardly returned to France, he was arrested and expelled, and, sent to Italy, he was put in prison again on a trumped-up charge of murder, and kept in penal servitude for seven years, when, after ceaseless agitation, he was at last released—because the King wished to visit the Romagna, which he dared not do with Cipriani unreleased. He went to live in France, but in 1891 returned to Italy, and was actively stirring up the 1st of May agitation there, in consequence of which he was arrested, and, after nearly a year's preliminary imprisonment, he and many others underwent (kept when on trial in a cage with iron grills) that monster trial of Rome, where all the police machinations to secure a conviction fell through, and he and most of the others—not all—had to be released soon after. Since then he lives again in France, driven away here and there by reactionary Ministries to seek a refuge in England and coming back again.



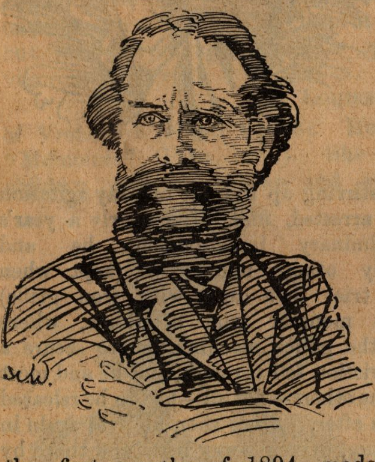
A. HAMON.

A French sociologist, working on strictly methodical lines, without favour or bias, which brings about that the conclusions he draws from actual facts must needs show the finest influence of Capitalism and Government, and hence be Anarchist. He studied modern public corruption in "An Agonising Society" (1889) and two year-books on public life in France (1890-91), militarism in "Psychology of the Professional Military Man" (1894), the criminalist theories in "Definition of Crime"(1893) On Anarchism he wrote "Les Hommes et les Theories de l'Anarchie" (The Men and the

Theories of Anarchy) (1893), a well-known pamphlet, "Psychology of the Anarchist-Socialist" (1895), a volume; also "Patrie et Internationalisme" (1895), and "Anarchism a Fraction of Socialism" (1896), Société Nouvelle": a proof of the affinity of Anarchism and Socialism which is so often denied by malicious or ignorant opponents. He takes a strong interest in the French trade-union movement, which separates itself more and more from politics and trusts in its own force, the general strike, and the economic revolution.

ELISEE RECLUS.

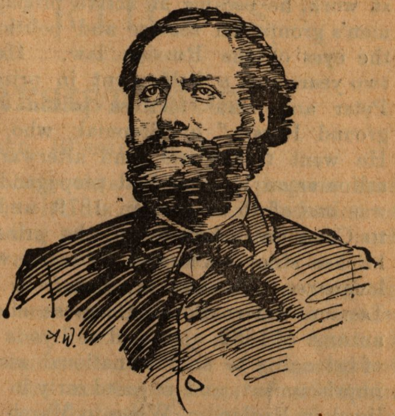
Born in 1830; brought up for the clerical profession (Protestant), he soon left the mental aberrations of theology for the study of science, more especially geography. Prosecuted as far back as 1851, after Bonaparte's *coup d'etat*, as a republican, he left France and spent many years in travels, chiefly in South America. During the latter part of the Empire he again took part in the social movements of the time, and became a friend of Michel Bakouuine. He was made prisoner during the Commune when part of the army of the Commune made a sortie but were defeated (Duval, Flourens, etc., killed, Cipriani arrested, etc., April, 1871). After many months spent on the convict ships in Brest harbour, he was released at the instance of an international appeal of men of science. He was banished from France and went to live in Switzerland, whence after a final amnesty he returned to Paris in 1881. The hunting down of the Anarchists all over France in December, 1893, and the first months of 1894, made him leave Paris, and he is since living at Brussels, holding a professorship of geography at the Brussels Free University.



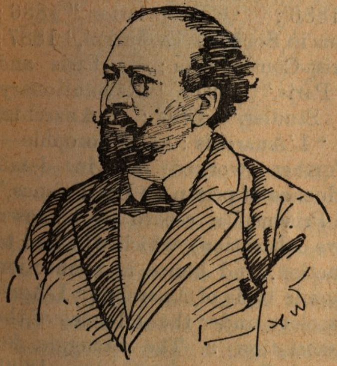
His life work is the "General Geographie," a large number of bulky volumes to which he is going to add a final volume containing the *social* conclusions of his work. His Anarchist writings are not many, but these are well known and widely spread, as: "Evolution and Revolution" (English edition 1886, etc.), "An Anarchist on Anarchy," "The Ideal and Youth," also "Anarchy," "To my Brother, the Peasant," "Legal Evolution and Anarchy," etc., which have not been translated.

F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS.

Once a Protestant clergyman, he became, in mature age already, a Freethinker and an orthodox Marxist Social Democrat. As such he was for years one of the foremost Socialist lecturers of the Netherlands and



editor of the chief paper—*Recht voor Allen.* He was also returned to the Dutch Parliament. His experience there convinced him that parliamentary methods are fallacious, and like most of the Netherlands Socialists, became an anti-parliamentary Free Communist—separated by some *nuance* only from the Anarchists, who, by the way, have carried on an independent agitation in that country for many years past. Learning from his own experience the futility of parliamentary methods, he drew the logical consequences, gave up electioneering altogether, and concentrated all his forces on the economic struggle. Again, seeing that his advocacy of the military strike (in case of war) and of the general strike at the International Congresses (1891, 1893) only met the sneers of the recognised Social Democratic leaders, he examined the real state of these parties of voters only, and exposed the real state of the German party in three essays: "The Different Currents of German Social Democracy" (1892), "Socialism in Danger" (1894), and "Free and Authoritative Socialism" (1895)—indictments of gradually increasing vigour.



BERNARD LAZARE.

One of the best known of the rising generation of French authors, who, parting from the demand for freedom for art, soon understood that this is impossible in a society in which the State, the Church, and every other form of authority dominate. Hence they openly embrace Anarchy, and defend its principles in the most variegated way—in prose and verse, articles and novels, drawings and pictures, published in the many young reviews, but gradually getting a hold on the press and public opinion in general.

PETER KROPOTKIN.

Prince Peter Kropotkin born in Moscow in 1842. After a military education and years of Siberian travels, which he preferred to a military career, left the service and devoted himself to the study of science (geology, etc.). Being from youth imbued with progressive ideas, and the desire to propagate them at whatever cost, he joined the St.

Petersburg Socialist groups in the early seventies, and after some travels in Switzerland, Belgium, etc., where he first saw the old International at work, he became an active propagandist, lecturing in secret to workmen's groups on science and political economy—an enormous crime in the eyes of the Russian law. He was arrested in 1874, and after two years and a half spent in prison without a trial, rescued from the Peter and Paul fortress prison by his friends (as told in "Underground Russia," by Stepniak, who, before all, organised this escape). He went to England, and afterwards to Geneva and the Zura. His action as an international propagandist of Anarchism here begins. He was one of those who in 1879 and 1880 advanced from Collectivist to Communist Anarchism, the principles, aims, and methods of which he has since elaborated in many writings, translated in nearly twenty languages. He was expelled from Switzerland for participation in the London International Congress of 1881; arrested in France in the autumn of 1882, and tried at Lyons (January, 1883), under the pretext of belonging to an international association. Sentenced to five years' imprisonment, and released early in 1886, he left France, and has since lived in England. When in March last he went over to France to give a lecture in Paris, the Radical-Socialist cabinet of bourgeoise expelled him to please the Tsar and other enemies. His articles, published in the *Revolté* and *Revolte* of Geneva and Paris (since continued in the *Temps Nouveaux* of Paris) were collected, in part, in two volumes: "Paroles d'un Revolté" (Words of a Rebel), and "La Conquête du Pain" (the Conquest of Bread); these contain most of the numerous pamphlets of which also English translations have appeared, *e.g.*: "An Appeal to the Young," 1885; "Law and Authority," 1886; "Expropriation," 1886; "War," 1886; "The Place of Anarchism in Socialist Evolution," 1887; "The Wage System," 1889; "Anarchist-Communism: its basis and principles," 1891; "The Commune of Paris," 1891; "Revolutionary Government," 1892; "Revolutionary Studies," 1892; "Anarchist Morality," 1892, etc. His latest work is "L'Anarchie: sa Philosophie—son Idéal," Paris, 1896. He has further worked out in detail certain subjects as: The demoralising influence of prison ("Les Prisons," 1888), and "In Russian and French Prisons," a record of his own experience; the new agriculture (intensive cultivation), which will lead to the decentralisation of agricultural production, and hence in connection with industry decentralised, form the economic basis of Anarchy ("L'Agriculture," 1893); the development of society under the influence of the mutual-aid principle ("Voluntary Association *v.* The Struggle for Life," a series of papers in the *Nineteenth Century*, September, 1890, June, 1896), etc., etc.

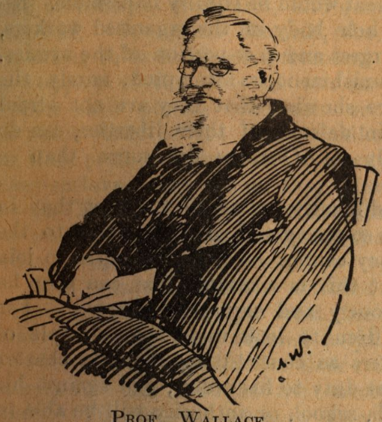
SPECIAL ARTICLES.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

BY PROFESSOR ALFRED RUSSELL WALLACE.

THERE is no brighter spot in the long vista of human progress than the international labour movement, with its effort at a realisation of the dreams of saints and sages—the true brotherhood of man, and peace between all the so-called "civilised" nations.

But to bring about this era of peace and fraternity something more than speeches and resolutions are required. The time for action has now arrived, and the best and most effective form of action against the existing systems of militarism and dynastic wars is that of passive resistance. The whole power of the aristocratic government of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was unable to overcome the passive resistance of the small and insignificant body of the Quakers, who not only refused to perform military service in any form, but also to take oaths, to pay tithes or church rates, or to conform to those ceremonial observances by which all other classes recognised those who were their rulers and claimed to be their superiors. It is not, however, necessary or advisable to refuse military training. That will some day be useful in defending your own liberties. What is needed is that all organised workers should combine in a solemn promise, in the first place, never to use their arms against such of their fellow-workers who may be peacefully striving to gain their political or social rights; and, in the second place, never to use their arms against any other nation, the workers of which have joined the international movement, except within and in defence of their own country, or in cases where the workers of any country appeal for help against oppressors and tyrants.


PROF. WALLACE.

I believe some of the German labour organisations have proposed or have adopted some such principle; and it seems to me that if in the present International Congress the English workers will use their influence to get some such principle discussed and ultimately accepted, a blow will be struck in the interests of labour and of peace which will be more effective than all the efforts of philanthropists and philosophers, because it will cut away at the very root the power of diplomacy and militarism to bring about dynastic wars.

The numerical power of organised labour in all the chief European countries is now so great and is so rapidly growing that by this system of passive resistance in military affairs it would be absolutely irresistible. Let it once be shown that the trained soldier will not fire upon his fellow-countrymen who are assembled for discussion or for combination in defence of their rights, and all attempts at governmental interference with the freedom of meeting and free discussion will cease. And let it further be realised that the men who will not fire on their fellow-countrymen are equally pledged not to fire on their fellow-workers of other countries, except in defence of their own hearths and homes or to assist the oppressed of other lands to gain their freedom, and no invasion of the territory of another country will occur, since the rulers will not risk the *fiasco* of the fraternising of the two armies on the field of battle.

And any compulsion or punishment would be equally impossible. No government can or dare punish the whole body of the organised workers, members of which constitute the largest and best portion of the armies. And even if some compulsion or punishment is attempted, surely the workers of to-day, who are everywhere showing that they are not afraid of imprisonment or even of death in defence of their liberties, can do what the small and unpopular body of Quakers did more than a century ago.

At present there may be some difficulty owing to the fact that in many European countries recruits are so young and so often belong to the unorganised ranks of labour that they cannot be depended upon to join in the action of their fellows. But this is a matter that can soon be cured if the principle is once seriously and earnestly adopted. For every worker will bring up his children to look upon the principle of not fighting against his fellow-workers as constituting the very charter of his own liberties as well as his first duty to his order; and against his home teaching no influence of church, school, or authority will be able to prevail.

My excuse, if one is needed, for venturing to give advice in this matter is my life-long interest in liberty and progress. As a boy I was a disciple and ardent admirer of Robert Owen; and though in middle life, while chiefly engaged in scientific work, I was influenced by the individualistic teaching of Herbert Spencer, I have now returned to my first love, and am a firm advocate of the Co-operative Commonwealth as giving the best promise of human happiness, and as affording the only prospect of a speedy cure for the terrible evils of existing capitalistic society. With earnest wishes for the success of the Congress, and with the hope that it will sink all minor differences to further the definition and adoption of fundamental principles—of which that relating to militarism is certainly one of the most important.

WAR OR PEACE?

By Prince Kropotkin.

Next Sunday the workers of all nations are going to make an important peace demonstration, and they are sure to well represent in this case the opinions of the workers all over the world.

But who are those who want war? Whose war-cries resound every day in our ears? Who will be conspicuous by their absence at the international peace gathering of the workers?—the ruling classes!

Always *they* have been the instigators of wars in times past, and so they are up to the present time. In times past it was the kings who waged wars in order to re-fill their cash boxes, to distribute new provinces amongst their "war companions," to give "occupation" to the gang of robbers, drunkards, and gamblers of whom their following was composed. It was the wizzards, the witches, and the high priests who, pretending to be in direct intercourse with supernatural forces, promised the support of the gods for war as soon as they saw that war would increase their powers upon men or accrue to their wealth. It was the noble lords of the land—smaller kings themselves—who made of war their profession, in order to always get new slaves or serfs, and to better enslave those whom they possessed of old. And so they went on—the Triple Alliance of those times—sacking and burning, killing and plundering the peasants and the artisans within and without the borders of their own countries.

The peasants and the artisans, on the other hand, did always all in their powers to escape from the war obligations, and to stay at home while they were ordered to join the armed bands. They cursed war when it was successful for their rulers, and they cursed it when it was unsuccessful and brought the enemy upon their fields and in their houses. They started immense secret unions to resist war and to prevent it, and as soon as they felt in force the peasants besieged the nests of war—the castles—and destroyed them when they could; while the artisans erected walls around their towns and prohibited their access to any armed man—robber, lord, or king. They joined immense conjurations for maintaining "God's peace," and later on, at the beginning of the Reform, they started widely spread religious movements to oppose war. And when those movements had been defeated and the peasants had been massacred, the survivors started in Moravia and elsewhere their communities, in which scores of thousands of peasants and artisans joined, taking the oath of never unsheathing the sword; and they prospered in those communities until these Communal houses were pillaged and destroyed by the triple alliance of King, Church, and Lord.

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War always came from above—from those who did not live on the work of their hands, but lived upon the blood and the sweat of the manual workers. And so it is up to the present date, with the only difference that the kings, having now lost their importance, the real instigators of wars are the lords of the land, of the factory, of the mine, and of the Stock Exchange.

Was it the *people* of Japan and China who waged lately that terrible war? Was it the kings? No; it was the capitalists! Two years before the war broke out a serious work was published in Germany about the growing industries of Japan; and its conclusion was that the sudden growth of the big factory system in Japan *must* very soon result in a war. "The people of Japan being too poor to buy what the big factories manufacture, Japan *must* wage a war for markets against its nearest neighbours." Such was the writer's conclusion.

And the war came. Japan had become an industrial country; it had become also a modern *State*—that is, a perfect organisation for pumping money out of the people—and war was unavoidable. European capitalists freely granted loans; the ironclads and the ton-guns were gladly supplied by the big war establishments of this country—which are hypocritically described by their pious owners as "workshops for the guarantee of peace"—and thousands of Japanese and Chinese were massacred for the enrichment of Japanese, and especially European, capitalists; while the newspaper people of Europe made money by relating, with relish, how transport ships having thousands of men on board were sunk to the bottom of the ocean by torpedoes, how men and women were massacred, how thousands of wounded were landed, and so on.

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Was it not the same with the Franco-German war? The fashion is now to throw the fault for that war upon Napoleon III. But who was it who made the power of that highway adventurer? Of whom was composed the throng in his Babylonian palace? The middle-classes to whom he had promised free hand for enrichment, and a strong hand against the Socialist workers. The middle-classes of both Germany and France were long since preparing that war. Their literature was full of incitements to hatred between the two nations. The best novelists of the time had their share in that wicked work. Who would rule the markets—France or Germany? Who would have a free hand for sweating the industrially backward nations? This was the gist of the terrible war which has cost millions of lives, and whose black shadows still float over European civilisation.

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That was *then.* But now, is it not the same again? How many middle-class papers can the worker read without finding in them the same incitements to national hatred and war, in whatever language the paper may be written?

In this country *all* has been done lately by a part of the ruling classes to awaken the lust of war. In illustrated papers, imaginary wars, ending in the capture of Rotterdam by the English and the triumph of England over the world, were minutely described.

Ironclads were sunk, in print and on engravings, populous cities were bombarded, war was waged between balloons in the air, between miners under ground, and between boats under the water—not for describing the horrors of war, but to delude peaceful clerks and workers who know nothing of war, and to make them believe in the grandeur and the splendour of war, to breed emotional hatred, to raise the Jingo spirit. The Napoleon legend was revived, the bloody battles of the past were re-told and embellished, the worship of "national heroes"—Stanley and Rhodes inclusive—was brought into fashion, and thousands of pounds were sunk by rich volunteers to put on the stage "patriotic dramas" which, it must be owned, fell flat nevertheless.

Was not also the invasion of Pretoria and the proposed capture of its capital part of a vast plan intended to revive the war spirit in this country and prepare it for the creation of an empire which would have extended from the Cape to India, and in which gold-digging, Matabele-hunting, and Egypt-scorching would have offered "new issues" for "the poor rich ones" who so loudly complain of the pinch of the times.

The worst is that the whole of the press submits to that same influence. In one column we find lamentations about the warlike spirit of man or the cruelty of the ladies who wear heron feathers on their hats; and in the next column we read: "*Our* artillery made splendid work," "the rebels were mowed down by *our* shots," and so on. Rebels! Those unarmed, miserable men whose "cattle and women" are taken by the filibusters, whose women and children are not spared, and of whom the young English sportsman writes: "*It is great fun potting niggars off and seeing them fall like nine pins!*"

And what is done in this country is done all over the world, in the press, in the school, in the speeches, and in private conversation, by all those who have made up their minds to make money out of the sweat of the masses and the blood of the war-conflicts.

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To this crusade of war the workers are bound to oppose their united action. They must loudly denounce that wicked propaganda which is preparing the shedding of streams of blood in a near future; they must put a stop to it.

They must raise their mighty voice and loudly affirm that they will *not* allow the mercantile writer to breed cruelty amongst our children, and to accustom them to utterly despise human life, to attach no value whatever to it; and to believe that in the interests of the State, or of separate classes, human lives may be destroyed to any amount. The lessons of cruelty and despising of human life with which modern middle-class literature is permeated already bear their fruit, and they menace, if they continue, to throw the next generation a century aback by wiping out of our civilisation the humanitarian progress that had lately been achieved.

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It may be in the interest of French capitalists to conquer provinces on the Rhine, and of German capitalists to annex Burgundy or the

Baltic provinces. It may suit the Russian and British manufacturers to make a partition of Armenia, or to fight upon the corpses of the Armenians; and it may be very profitable for the international bankocracy to ruin the nations by war preparations and to plunge them into endless wars. . . .

But the workers have nothing to win at wars, and they have nothing to expect from wars but that a further lease will be granted to the upper classes for living upon the fruits of the labour of the proletarians, and that the international solidarity which now begins to be established among the workers of all nations, will again be destroyed, as it was destroyed for many years by the war of 1870.

And at the same time an immense work—a heavy duty towards themselves and their own children—lies before and upon the workers. They have their own conquests of quite a different kind to achieve—not abroad, but at home. They have to conquer Liberty, which for a wage-slave is a vain word. They have to conquer Equality, which cannot exist between the ruler and the ruled, the palace-owner and the slum-dweller, the university man and the miner's boy. And they have to establish Fraternity, which will remain a mere sarcasm so long as the State organisation will give to the few the means to drive millions of men against each other for mutual extermination.

THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE DEMONSTRATION.

By Grant Allen.

There can be little doubt, I think, that throughout Europe at large the feeling among members of the Labour Party, as among intelligent and progressive working men in general, is far more distinctly international, far more closely bound up with the aspiration for peace than in England and other parts of Britain. For this comparative backwardness of our own country as regards a great and pressing question, which profoundly affects the interests of the workers, there are, of course, several sufficient reasons. In the first place, our insularity prevents us from mixing freely as a nation with foreigners. Britain is an island, and therefore it has no borderland where a large portion of our population can come into direct personal contact with neighbouring nations. Our wealthier classes, indeed, travel perhaps more than any other people in the world; but the cost of crossing the sea makes most labouring men content, of necessity, with a restricted acquaintance with their own country. Then, again, our language is, so to speak, self-contained. Though we never regard Americans as exactly foreigners—heaven forbid we ever should—yet we have no near outliers of our own tongue, such as France possesses in French-speaking Switzerland and French-speaking Belgium; such as Germany possesses in German-speaking Switzerland and German-speaking Austria. Where boundary lines are as arbitrary and artificial as they are on the Continent it is almost impossible for the ordinary French or German workman to regard his neighbour just across the frontier, with whom he can often converse in his own tongue familiarly, as an alien and an enemy. But in England and the rest of Britain we are separated by the sea from men who do not speak our English language; and though London and some other towns are crowded with various continental immigrants, yet our people have never to this day mixed freely with the aliens or got over the strong sense of profound distinction between the Briton and the foreigner.

GRANT ALLEN.

On the other hand, there are good reasons why, on the Continent, the labouring classes should very clearly perceive the desirability for their order of peace and internationalism, the evils of war and still more of that continued state of alarm and tension which warlike preparations and armaments imply. Universal forced military service, for one thing, brings home the evil in its closest form to every household. But that is not all. The military despotisms of the Continent, avowed or veiled, are all absolutely based upon the supposed need for preventing or opposing foreign aggression. Look, for example, at the strange case of Germany. The German, I believe, is in himself, apart from circumstances, one of the freest and most liberty-loving creatures in Europe. Socialists and members of the Labour Party do not need to be told how much German thinkers have influenced Socialist thought, how much German workers have done and suffered on behalf of the highest Socialist ideals. In numerical strength nowhere perhaps is the advanced Labour Party so powerful as in Germany. The ordinary German, again, once removed from the Empire, and settled in England, France, or America, becomes almost always a good Radical at least, often a sound progressive thinker and worker. Yet Germany herself groans to this day under the most organised military despotism in Europe. Why? Because the aristocratic and capitalist classes in Germany have succeeded in persuading the mass of the people, or a very large number of them, that vast armaments and a constant attitude of smouldering hostility to France are necessary to protect them from French invasion. Thus even those Continental races in whom a love of freedom is probably innate, have been easily cajoled by circumstances into calm acquiescence in the monstrous modern *régime* of national armies and of diplomatic juggling.

As a natural consequence, the Labour Party on the Continent see clearly as a rule that the military and ruling classes are by their very constitution opposed to their interests; that the game of the labourer is universal peace, disarmament, international understanding. The workman of Paris or Berlin does not want to fight the workman of Berlin or Paris, in the interest of the dominant military class or of the ring of capitalists who rig and control the money market. In Britain, however, the specious arguments of the Jingo have had far more weight with working men. We British have comparatively few European complications; and those that we have concern rather the East—Egypt, Constantinople, Armenia, Cyprus—than our immediate surroundings just across the Channel. Vague talk about "opening out spheres for British trade," which covers military designs and the schemes of capitalists, has therefore too often imposed upon sections of our people. Even our leaders have been too much engrossed upon plans of internal reform—upon political questions of the franchise, or social questions of capital and labour—to find much time for the wider and more fundamental problems of peace and internationalism. Thus we have perhaps to some extent failed to realise the world-wide importance of this question to Labour—failed to grasp in full the solidarity of the cause of Labour throughout the world—the underlying truth that a French or German working man, who holds the same ideas and works for the same ideals as ourselves, is far more truly our fellow-countryman in any genuine sense—our fellow-citizen in the industrial republic—than the British capitalist or the British military man who works against us at every point, and whose conceptions of right and wrong are hopelessly opposed to all our notions of truth and justice.

Nevertheless, it is not difficult to see that we in Britain have just as much to gain by the triumph of internationalism and of the principle of peace as any other people. Our whole existing social system—the system which it is our hope to alter and ameliorate—bases itself upon the supposed necessity for defending "British interests"—which always turn out on examination to be, not the interests of the people of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, but the interests of a handful of capitalists and speculators. We must be at loggerheads with France over Egypt or the Soudan—because a few speculators lent money on bad security at extravagant rates to a late Egyptian despot, and a few more hold shares in the Suez Canal. We must be at loggerheads with Russia over Crete or the Indian frontier—because Russia is supposed to have "designs upon Constantinople," which designs it is imagined might remotely affect the profits of a handful of cotton-spinners who have mills in Bombay, and a handful of merchants who have offices in Calcutta. In order to bolster up the bad investments these gentlemen may have made, the English people are coolly asked to commit a double injustice; on the one hand, they are required by diplomacy or force of arms to back up the capitalists' claims—which in any case entails upon them the maintenance of a useless army and navy; and on the other hand, they are requested practically to support the vile supremacy of Turkey, which the inhabitants of the ill-used provinces would easily be able to throw off themselves, were it not for the mischievous and cruel interference of what is absurdly called the "Concert of Europe." Immediately, therefore, the military system is answerable for two bad results—our taxation in order to pay for the freaks of capitalists; and our national disgrace in backing up injustice elsewhere on the vile pretence that it subserves "British interests"—the interests of the capitalist, the land-grabber, and the filibuster.

But more than that—militarism exists in order to be dragged as a red herring at every turn across the path of domestic progress. Do we want something done in our mines or our factories?—we are told it cannot be proceeded with, because Parliament is engaged in debating how we can best prevent Russia from attempting mediation in favour of persecuted civilised men in Crete or Armenia, for fear her action might tell prejudicially upon the price of consols or the value of Indian railway stock. Do we seek some change in our absurd system of land-tenure, some improvement in the position and housing of the people in our crowded centres?—we are told it is "impossible to do anything this session," because somebody has been raiding somebody else in South Africa, or "British interests" require to be upheld in Siam or Venezuela. What palpable self-contradiction! Are there any British interests as great as the interests of the millions in the south and east of London; the interest of the miners in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Durham; the interest of the mill-hands in Manchester and Dundee; the interest of the toilers of various sorts in Glasgow, Liverpool, Cardiff, and Newcastle; the interest of the Scotch crofter and the Irish labourer; the interest of the workman throughout Britain and the colonies? Yet when does one hear these British interests alleged as a sufficient reason for letting the Suez Canal go hang, letting the South African speculators stew in their juice, letting the Uganda ivory-hunters take care of themselves, letting the Venezuela mine-grabbers look after their own mines and their own concessions? It is commonly held that the interests of a few thousands are of paramount importance, while the interests of millions are not worth considering.

Internationalism and the peace question are thus no mere abstract ideas, no mere pious aspirations. It is not merely the direct "horrors of war" that are so bad; the indirect are worse still. War and national jealousy are the cunning trap which capitalists, land-grabbers, and the ruling classes spread in our way, in order to divert our attention, if possible, from internal and social reforms in every country. What the people have to do is to come forth boldly and renounce these false ideals. We in Britain need have absolutely no foreign policy at all, except so far as a foreign policy is forced upon us by those who choose to invest, at their own risk, in Mexico, in South Africa, in India, in Egypt, and then call upon the rest of us to spend our millions in military and naval display, in order to guarantee their ill-placed thousands. The interests of the labourers—all labourers indiscriminately, whether with head or hands, are absolutely identical all the world over. Capital, land, the church, the privileged, the army, the navy, the office-holders in general are always combining to persuade us it is otherwise. They exist just because they have so far succeeded in hoodwinking us. They are for ever trying to turn us aside from these nearer problems of explosions in mines, overcrowding in Whitechapel, distress in the Highlands, poverty in Connemara, sweating here, overtime there, under-payment yonder, in order to discuss that more distant and artificial problem of Matabeleland or Socotra, the Transvaal or Dongola, the precise boundaries of British Guiana when it belonged to the Dutch, the advance of Russia towards China or Afghanistan, the French in Siam, the Germans in East Africa. Our entire system of administration, our House of Lords, our civil service, our Indian complications, our Egypt, our Aden, our Malta, our Gibraltar, our Cyprus, our Hong Kong, our vast navy, our increasing preparations, all turn upon this single pivot. We suffer anything at home in order that "British interests"—the interests of a few dozen gamblers—may suffer no loss in Uganda or Fiji, in Guatemala or New Guinea. It is to break down this *régime* of international suspicion and international bickering that the International Peace Demonstration is inaugurated; and we call upon all labourers who can join our movement to attend it in thousands, in order to show the capitalist and gambling classes that we will no longer support that specious bulwark of their unjust pretensions. When once we can get rid of armaments with their consequent panics and dislocation of production and distribution we can proceed at our leisure to reconstruct society upon an equitable basis of justice for everyone.

WOMEN AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

THE numerous resolutions on the agenda for the Congress relating to women's work and interests were reduced in the Political Action and the Economic and Industrial reports to the following:

1. The Congress declares that the political emancipation of women is inseparable from that of the workers, and thereupon calls upon women in all countries to work and organise politically side by side with the workers.

2. Trade unions should admit female workers into their ranks, and secure for them equal wages for the same kind and amount of work.

The reporter of the former Commission said: "We have tried to boil down those clauses which deal with women from the political standpoint, feeling that our business was not to interfere with trade-union action. Our report only deals with the political emancipation of women."

The reporter of the second did not enlarge upon the resolution as quoted above from the report, and, short as these two clauses are, the general consensus of opinion among English and especially among Continental women seems to be that they are sufficiently comprehensive.

A few of the women with whom I talked at the Congress were interested in other phases of the woman's question, and gave me some details concerning them. One of these, Mademoiselle Corn, a Russian living in Paris, told me that the woman's movement in Russia began about thirty years ago. The women especially wished to continue their higher medical and other studies just the same as the men. But this movement was necessarily confined to the educated classes. Among the workers it did not and does not exist. The Government has put all kinds of obstacles in the way of woman's education, which is the reason that so many Russian women have been obliged to go abroad to study. At present it may be said that the woman's movement, as such, does not exist. The women desire, above all things, to study exactly as the men do. The emancipation of women has taken place, as far as habits of life are concerned, in the more enlightened classes, but there are no women's societies. As for political rights, women as well as men have none. As regards civil rights, the Code is often more liberal than in France. For instance, a married woman has absolute rights over her own property.

Citoyenne Corn—which, however, is not the real name of my informant, it being necessary for her as a Russian to take an *alias*—represents the *Bourse de Travail*, or Labour Exchange, of Isny, and has a most attractive and sympathetic manner and appearance.

An interesting woman delegate, representing four Polish organisations, is Rose Luxembourg, who lives at Zurich, where she has taken the degree of Doctor of Laws. She is studying for the Doctorate in Science at the same university, and edits a monthly paper for free distribution in Poland, which is called *Sprawa Robotmicza* ("The Cause of the Workers"), and is the organ of Social Democracy in Russian Poland. This publication varies in length from four to eight pages, and can be obtained in Switzerland and other countries for a yearly subscription of four francs. She says that in her native land no woman's movement exists. Where a whole nation is enslaved there is no question of political rights, and very few trade unions, either for men or women, have been organised.

On the Continent it is the exception rather than the rule for women to form themselves into separate syndicates for the protection of their interests as workers.

Frau Clara Zetkin, the editress of a paper for working women, the *Gleichheit* ("Equality"), which is published twice monthly at Stuttgart, told me that German women are admitted to the men's unions on payment of a smaller weekly contribution, it being recognised that, while women receive lower wages than men, it would be an injustice to demand from them an equal subscription. She says there is no progressive movement among the middle-class women of Germany. As a rule they accept and uphold aristocratical and monarchical traditions, and do not disclaim the position of inferiority in which they are placed by the law. Women of advanced opinions have to join the ranks of the working women, and take part with them. Frau Zetkin herself is a delegate from the German Socialist "wives" (women), as well as the tailors, tailoresses, and sempstresses. To represent the latter she had to be elected in a Socialist meeting not officially connected with their society, for as trade unions in Germany are not allowed any political action:

they would be dissolved summarily if they ventured to send formal delegates to such a gathering as the International Congress.

In France there is no Socialist woman's movement. In the different French Socialistic parties, as elsewhere, women and men work side by side, and demand the complete enfranchisement of both sexes. Women have no separate organisations, and realise that they must gain political enfranchisement by joint action with the men. Among the women connected with the Socialist movement there are none especially interesting, excepting Louise Michel. After her may be named Paule Mincke (*Blanquiste*) and Aline Valette (*Guésdiste*).

The bourgeois woman's movement makes a great deal of noise, but its leaders demand mere palliatives, such as the right for women merchants to sit in the Commercial Tribunals, higher education for women, etc. They do not, as a rule, know what Socialism means, but think it spells bloodshed and violence.

As far as there was any opportunity of discussing this subject with women delegates from other countries, there seemed to be little difference of opinion as regards the endorsement of the clauses as quoted above. While the bourgeois women's movement in all lands where it exists has points of great interest and has tended to open the minds of women generally to an examination of the questions which specially affect their sex, it cannot be compared in importance and significance with the organisations for working women which exist in England and on the Continent, and with the efforts of individual women working with men in the ranks of Socialism to advance the cause of labour and political freedom.

MARY A. FOSTER, B.A.

LABOUR AND EDUCATION.

THE workers of all countries are agreed on two main principles with regard to the education of their children—first, that they are entitled to free tuition all along the line, from the Primary School to the University; and, second, that they are entitled to free maintenance at the expense of the State during the period they are in attendance at any educational establishment.

Now, although in many countries the primary schools are free, the secondary schools, technical schools, and universities are not so, and in only a few countries in Europe is the principle of free maintenance even recognised by those in authority.

"French primary schools are free, but in all other schools a fee is charged, which is in most cases prohibitive in the case of the children of the workers.

The principle of free maintenance is recognised by some French municipalities—Roubaix and Bordeaux, to wit—and in the case of certain travelling scholarships by the French Government.

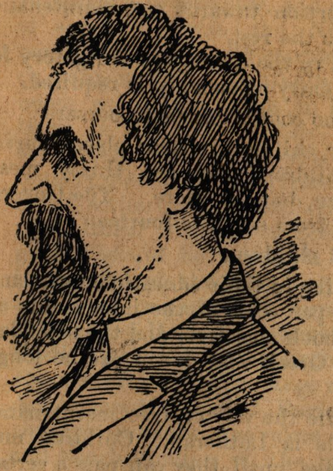
A degree in Science or Arts may be obtained at but small expense in France, but a training in law or medicine is expensive.

Attendance at school is obligatory in Switzerland. All primary schools are free. Some municipalities provide food for those children who come long distances, whilst others provide clothes or shoes.

The municipality of Basle provides food and clothes free where necessary, Geneva food, and Zurich food and shoes. These municipalities are only examples out of many. Swiss secondary schools are free up to the age of sixteen, and the universities are free to bursars or scholarship holders.

The Normal Colleges—Training Colleges for Teachers—are free, and the students in training are subsidised by the State.

Women sit on all Educational Boards.



PROFESSOR FERRI.
The well-known Italian Criminologist.

All Italian primary schools are free and secular, and the universities open their doors free to the bursar or scholarship holder.

Free maintenance is not recognised in Italy, and afflicted children are dependent on charity.

The Federal constitution lays it down that all education must be secular.

Education in Poland is in a parlous condition. The old kingdom of Poland is now divided into Russian, Prussian, and Austrian Poland, and in neither state is education obligatory or free. The language taught is that of the dominant power, which uses the schools of the country as a means of introducing discord amongst the members of a nationality famous for its love of country. As elsewhere, some money is provided for middle-class schools and but little or none for the primary schools, which are essentially everywhere the schools of the workers.

There is a great lack of technical schools. In Russian Poland municipalities are not allowed to establish schools on their own initiative, and private individuals are not permitted to open schools on any account. Of course, free maintenance is unknown.

The great grievance of the Poles is the fact that the language of 18,000,000 of people may not be taught in the primary schools of the country.

The primary schools of Holland, as well as the secondary schools, are not free, neither have the workers the opportunity of attending the universities.

Any assistance given to the children attending primary schools is given by private charity. Children begin attending school at six years of age, and leave when they will.

Children who are blind, deaf, dumb, or otherwise afflicted are cared for partly by the State and partly by charity.

Education is obligatory in Italy between the ages of six and nine years. In Sicily the law is in abeyance, and there the children are practically slaves, sold by their parents to the owners of mines for a certain number of years.

Some primary schools in Germany are free, but the doors of secondary schools and universities need a golden key to unlock them. Attendance at school is obligatory in some parts of Germany between the ages of six and fourteen. In Bavaria a scholar may leave school at thirteen.

The Government contributes a portion towards the maintenance of afflicted children. Charity has to do the rest.

In Denmark attendance at school in the country is obligatory for 120 days annually, but in the towns a daily attendance is required.

All primary schools are free, but no others except to bursars.

Private philanthropy provides for children in some places during periods of exceptional distress. Children may get thirty meals annually from a society in Copenhagen, but no more. The Government does nothing. The school age is from seven to fourteen years.

The State provides for all afflicted children.

Norway and Sweden are much alike in their educational systems; if anything, Norway leads. Only 10 per cent. of the inhabitants are absolutely illiterate. All primary schools are free, and the secondary schools and universities nearly so. Greek and Latin are no longer taught in Norwegian universities.

The municipalities do a little in the way of free maintenance. The religious teaching in the schools is Lutheran. Children must stay at school from seven years of age until they can pass a certain examination.

The Government gives an annual grant of 200,000 crowns for the teaching of Sloyd woodwork.

Afflicted children are cared for partly by the State and partly by private charity.

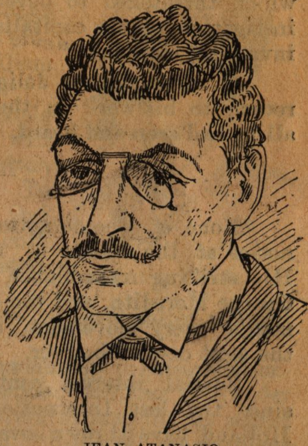
Note.—The above facts have been gleaned in conversation with delegates to the late International Workers' Congress, and in no single instance did any of the workers' representatives express themselves as contented or satisfied with the educational system of their country. The invariable cry has been: "The educational system of our country has been framed to bolster up capitalism." That this is true may be seen from even the most cursory examination of the facts set forth in this article. Everywhere the educational system is used to show the capitalist and his middle-class hanger-on how they may most readily exploit the worker to their own ends.

MAX FONTEN.

INTERVIEWS.

JEAN ATANASIO is an advocate in Biarritz, and represented Roumania at the Congress. If he is a fair specimen of his race, he has none of the effeminateness which we usually associate with the Eastern type of manhood, and of which the Turk affords such a good example. Tall, muscular, and well built, full of energy, and yet with a subdued grace about all his actions which is very charming, his whole deportment bespeaks the perfect gentleman.

The Socialist movement in Roumania, he said, is twofold—trade union and parliamentary. The fact that Roumania is on the borders of Russian territory makes them fearful of any contact with the Anarchist movement. This is all the more necessary, as, whilst Roumania is nominally an independent state, in reality Russian influence is everywhere, and any suspicion of sympathy with the Nihilist movement in Russia would ensure either death or banishment. Nominally there is as much political freedom in Roumania as there is in Great Britain. In reality the powers that exist—especially in the country districts—make freedom of speech or of action an impossibility. In the agricultural districts a Socialist propagandist would be stoned to death at the instigation of the local mayors, and, of course, no one would be responsible. In this respect Roumania seems to resemble South America in its treatment of negroes. Roumania is in that stage of industrial development which England passed through towards the close of the last and the beginning of the present century—*i. e.*, a transition from agricultural and home industries to commercialism. Corn hitherto has been freely exported, but now, what with the United States on the one hand and the Steppes of Russia on the other, the exports are yearly declining, and the peasants are in a state of revolt against the horrible conditions which prevail. The form of government includes two Chambers and a Senate, which sits at Bucharest, the capital city of Roumania. The form of election to these Chambers resembles in some degree that recently adopted in Belgium, property owners, although a small minority, having as much power as the great bulk of the people.


JEAN ATANASIO

The carpenters, compositors, and engineers are each well organised, though every effort is made to hinder them, despite the fact that the law allows freedom of combination. There is also a national general Labour and Socialist Assembly, with three permanent secretaries, which meets in Bucharest each two months to organise

Socialist propaganda. No foreigner is allowed to take part in political affairs or industrial unions. This prohibition enables the authorities to get rid of almost any person, of whatever nationality, who shows capacity for educating his fellows. This was strikingly shown recently when the woodworkers went on strike, and a number of them who were leaders were accused of being foreigners and were expelled. In the mining districts—which comprise petroleum, copper, iron, and salt—rapid development is going on, and appeals are constantly being made for British capital to assist.

M. Atanasio has great hopes for the future of the movement in Roumania. Already there are 25,000 workers organised in the Socialist Workers' Party, and thousands more, although not actually enrolled, support them at elections. Asked what were the causes of the Armenian massacres, he shrugged his shoulders, and replied:

"The poverty of the people, due to the exactions of the usurers, which threatened to develop into a revolt, and which Turkey, at the instigation of the capitalists, thought to stop by a system of terrorism involving massacres."

M. Atanasio was delighted with the Congress, and said he would return to his work in the Far East strengthened and stimulated by all he had seen and heard.

None of the delegates to the Congress received more favourable notice at the hands of the pressmen than Domela Nieuwenhuis. His striking resemblance, which was generally commented upon, to George Meredith, and the calm, dignified strength which marks the man's every movement, could not fail, indeed, to have impressed the most casual observer.

Special interest centred round Domela on this occasion, as since the last International met he and the Socialist League of Holland have thrown over parliamentary action, and it was a well-known fact that the chief aim of the Marxists during the first two days of the Congress was to secure the expulsion of Domela and his colleagues. Fortunately they were checkmated and the Congress spared the ignominy of turning out one of the men who have suffered most for the Socialist movement. Domela, however, does nothing by halves, and whilst he is no Anarchist, he holds that all who are engaged in any department of the Socialist movement ought to be free to attend an International Socialist Congress; and when this point was not conceded he and his colleagues, after a brief statement as to the why of their doing so, withdrew from the Congress.

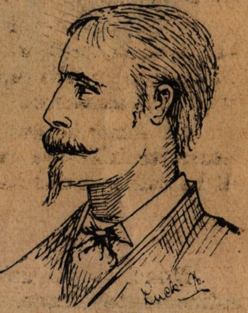
In the course of a conversation he explained his position at some length. In 1889 he attended the Marxist Congress in Paris, and used his good offices to some purpose to bring about a reconciliation between that and the Possiblist Congress sitting at the same time. At that time he was a member of the Dutch Parliament having been elected in 1888. He was defeated at the next election in 1891. Asked why he had changed his opinion, he smilingly replied:

"You who were three years a member of Parliament do not require to ask such a question. My experience caused me to lose faith in politics. The very word 'parliamentary' is of itself sufficient to cause searchings of heart. It is derived from two words—*parler*, 'to speak,' and *mentir*, 'to lie.'"

And as Domela could not speak lies he withdrew from politics.

In 1893, when the Dutch Socialists met at Gronlund, it was resolved that in future the party—as a party—should not take part to the extent of running candidates to Parliament, but that each member was free to act as he pleased in the matter. So far as he knew, this action had not affected the membership, and they were as strong to-day as before the change was made. Nearly the whole of the trade-unionists supported the Socialist League—the name of their organisation. Asked how he proposed to bring about the change from capitalism to Communism, he replied:

"Our business is to educate the people and prepare them for the change, which will come of itself, as the present system is rotten and will fall to pieces of its own weight. To take part in parliamentaryism, and try and secure little bits of reform here and there, only tends to patch up, and thus perpetuate the system we desire to see changed."



WALTER CRANE.

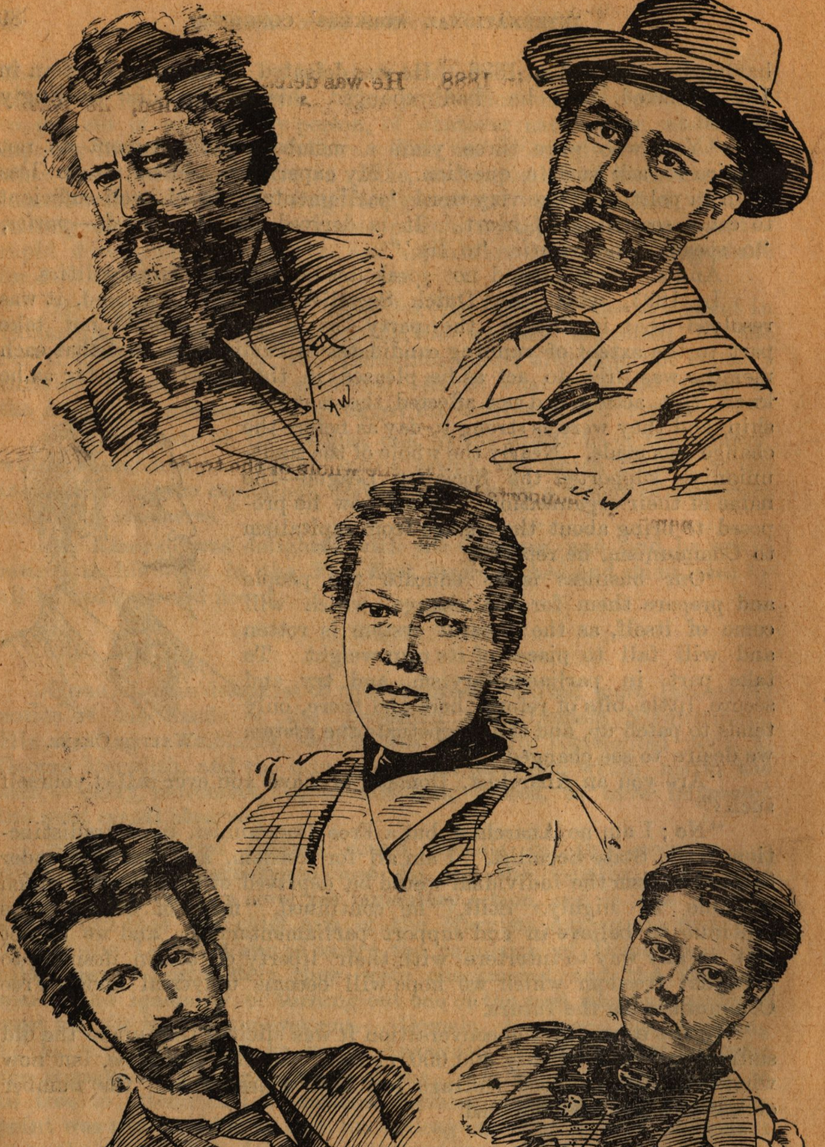
"Are you an Anarchist, Domela, or have you ever called yourself such?"

"No; I am no Anarchist, but a Free Communist, in contradistinction to the State Socialist. I am all for freedom, and fear that under State Socialism the individual would be deprived of that liberty which I value so highly. Still," he continued, "many of our members continue to believe in and support parliamentaryism, and we do not seek in any way to interfere with their liberty of action, desiring to give that freedom which we hope will become universal under Free Communism in the future."

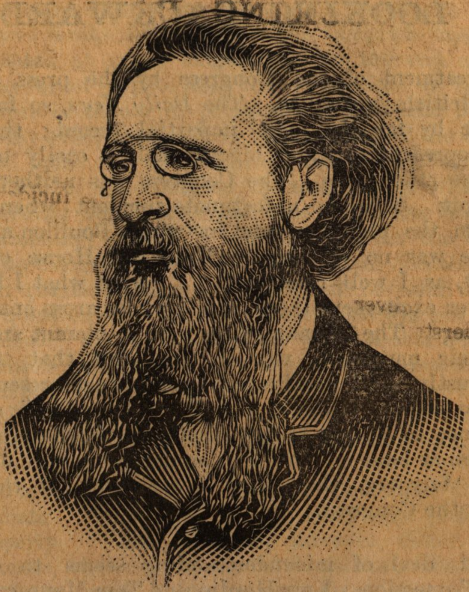
In the course of the conversation it was elicited that under the old suffrage in Holland only 300,000 citizens had the franchise, but now what is almost manhood suffrage has been conceded, and the number of electors has been doubled.

During the week, several side conferences were held of the representatives of several trades—such as the glassworkers, the woodworkers, and others—whilst the elected representatives of municipal and imperial bodies present also met and exchanged opinions.

SOCIALISTS WHO WERE ABSENT FROM THE INTERNATIONAL.



Wm. Morris. Ed. Carpenter.
The Late Carrie Martyn.
R. B. Cunninghame-Graham. Mrs. Annie Besant.



JULES GUESDE.

JOTTINGS.

The next Congress is to be held in Berlin in 1899; or, if the police forbid it, then in Paris in 1900.

—o—

"I do not depreciate Trade Unions," said Jaurès in his speech on Tuesday morning, whereat the veteran Daniel Holmes threw back his head and smiled as if he had heard a good joke.

—o—

Two special dailies were issued during the Congress, *Justice* and the *Congress Record.* The daily *Justice* was exceptionally well edited, and it is a pleasure to learn that the sale was up to the expectations.

—o—

Two delegates are present from the Vooruit of Ghent, a co-operative society. They are Marxists, and so no objection was offered to them. Landauer is anti-Marxist, and he has been sent by a co-operative society in Berlin. His credential was questioned. This needs no comment, and affords a key to the whole of the trouble.

LOOKING BACKWARDS.

The treatment of the Congress by the press does not reflect credit on British journalism. The *Daily News*, so far as I saw the papers, gave by far the most impartial record; the *Chronicle*, for wilful misrepresentation and bigoted malice, easily took the premier place on the other side. The Congress was neither a bear garden nor a cockpit. Save the unfortunate incident when Delessalle was thrown from the platform—and for which Bouillon afterwards apologised—there was no violence. Even the House of Commons has had its fight, as I well remember. I repeat what I have said before, that whatever excitement there was betimes arose entirely from misunderstandings. The German bosses were intolerant and unsympathetic towards their opponents, who in turn felt that they were being treated unjustly, and manifested some natural resentment in consequence. No sooner, however, did the "Anarchist" section find that they were not to be left to fight their own battle single-handed, but that a portion at least of the British delegates were determined to see them have fairplay, than they became one of the most orderly divisions of the Congress.

⁂

A good deal of misunderstanding seems to exist over this "Anarchist" question. Keir Hardie and Tom Mann came in for a good deal of abuse in connection with their attitude towards it, and the word was freely passed round among the Continental delegates—who, knowing nothing of our language, were fain to believe what they were told — that these two gentlemen were Anarchists in disguise. This impression was heightened by the issue in the press of the following document:

> Sir,—Certain delegates of the Independent Labour Party desire it to be made known that the attitude and speeches of Keir Hardie and Tom Mann on the Zurich Resolution are in no sense official as representing the general policy of the Independent Labour Party, the question not having been submitted to the branches for their consideration. A considerable number of the delegates present are opposed to the policy advocated by Keir Hardie and Tom Mann as being inconsistent with the policy of the Independent Labour Party. And as they are precluded by the ruling of the chairman from expressing their dissent, they take this opportunity of soliciting the good offices of the press in making these objections known.

(Signed)

Arthur Field.
Robt. Alec Peddie.
Ed. Aveling.
P. Widdington.
Thos. M. Watt.
Joseph Burgess.
Shaw Maxwell.
A. Hickmond.
J. Fred. Green.
A. Bicker-Caarten.
R. Haworth.
J. A. Dysche.
H. B. Samuels.

Lesle A. Toke.
Enid Stacy.
F. Brocklehurst.
J. R. Macdonald.
L. M. Byles.
John Lister.
M. E. Gladstone.
W. H. Drew.
Sam Brierley.
E. J. Nevill.
R. A. Muncey.
F. Lessner.
J Whetter.

Now, what are the facts of the case? At a meeting of the N.A.C. at Manchester, two weeks or so before the Congress met, the whole question was debated at much length, and in the end a resolution was carried in favour of supporting the admission of all *Socialist* delegates who were in favour of political or industrial organisation. Then on the Sunday evening preceding the meeting of the Congress the I.L.P. delegates met, and after a full debate rejected by a large majority a resolution of Joe Burgess the meaning of which—I have not the exact wording beside me—was that only those Socialists who believe in parliamentary action be admitted. Thus the N.A.C. and the delegates to the Congress were of opinion that all *Socialists*, whatever their opinion on parliamentary action, should be admitted. From first to last the question of admitting Anarchists was not in dispute, and was never raised. The whole question was whether Socialists who preferred trade-union and co-operative action to parliamentary should be admitted. Keir Hardie and Tom Mann and the bulk of the N.A.C. and I.L.P. Congress delegates said yes, the protestors said no. It will be for the party to decide at its next Conference which was right.

⁂

The question arose in this way. On the Continent there are two schools of Socialists. Their aim is the same—the socialisation of all forms of property. Their methods, however, differ. One set, chiefly the Germans, believe in State Socialism; the other, like Domela Nieuwenhuis, prefer a free co-operative Communism. The interview with Domela which appears eleswhere explains his position. The Germans, however, declared beforehand through their paper, the *Vorwarts*, and elsewhere that the latter section were Anarchists, and as such should be kept out. When the Congress met it was found that Holland had sent 20 delegates, 15 of whom were Free Communists and only 5 parliamentarians; France sent 113, of whom 57, mostly trade-unionists, were in favour of admitting the Free Communists, and 56 against. If the German interpretation of the Zurich resolution had prevailed, the majority in each of the above cases would have been excluded from the Congress. The action of Keir Hardie and Tom Mann alone prevented this injustice from being done.

⁂

In addition to the above some trade unions had sent well-known Anarchists as their delegates. These, too, were to be turned out. Now, I repeat here what I have already said several times in these pages. Anarchist groups, *as such*, were not entitled to be represented at the Congress. On that point there is no dispute. But if the members of a *bona fide* trade union desired to select as their delegate a person holding Anarchist opinions that was their lookout, and for the Congress to resolve itself into an Inquisition to examine the opinions of all who sought admission is too awful for contemplation. And yet this is what was proposed. Finding that this would not work, a new device was hit upon by the Germans and their allies, Dr. and Mrs. Aveling. It was to irritate the anti-Parliamentarians by refusing all discussion on the question of their admission, and then either eject them *by force* or burst up the Congress. Again the chairman and secretary of the I. L. P. successfully intervened, and secured two speeches of ten minutes each from each side. The result was that the vote was taken without the least trace of disorder, and the conduct of the much-maligned "Anarchists" was from that moment onward a model which other sections of the Congress might have followed with advanatge.

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In considering this question we have to remember the conditions which prevail on the Continent. In this country the Anarchist movement has no terrors for anyone. In France, Italy, and Spain, however, where savage repression of all forms of advanced thought has produced a corresponding spirit, the bomb and other outrages with which members of the Anarchist Party have been associated, makes it imperative that the constitutional Socialist should clearly define his position in relation thereto, else his Government will class him with the much hated and feared Anarchist. Bomb-throwing and outrage, however, are no more a necessary part of the Anarchist than they are of the Socialist propaganda, and the leaders of the Anarchist movement cannot be held responsible for the acts of their fanatical followers. If trade-unionists, for example, were to hold the S. D. F. guilty for everything said and done by members of the organisation, a certain leaflet, headed "To Hell with Trade-Unionism," would be tolerably strong reason why they should hold no converse with them. Still, I quite understand why the Continental Socialist should desire to purge himself of all sympathy with the Anarchist movement. But when he proceeds, as the Germans do, to class all who disagree with parliamentary action as Anarchists, a stand must be made. In 1889 William Morris and his fellow-delegates to the Paris International Congress were anti-Parliamentarians, and had the German interpretation of the Zurich resolution been in force he would have been expelled. Domela Nieuwenhuis and his colleagues of the Socialist League in Holland occupy exactly the same position now as William Morris and the Socialist League of this country did in 1889. By meeting and conferring with others Morris found that the differences which separated him from them was more a question of words than of principles, and in like manner Socialists who to-day appear to differ as to methods have but to meet and learn face to face what each other is thinking to find their points of disagreement dwindle and their points of agreement enlarge. To treat such men as Domela Neuwenhuis as enemies, debar them from our councils, say hard and bitter things about them, is but to make a breach where none should exist, and divide into warring factions a movement which must be one before it can succeed.

⁂

I am not an Anarchist, but neither am I a cast-iron State Socialist. We need both sections to maintain a fair equipoise. In Germany freedom is unknown, and so far as I can see the leaders of the Socialist movement in that country conceive Socialism as a system under which Liebknecht and Singer would take the place of Kaiser William and Bismarck. They in power would be quite as intolerant towards all who disagreed with them as their official opponents are towards them to-day. They alone, they believe, hold the key to all wisdom in the Socialist movement. Those who disagreed with them at the recent Congress found it next to impossible to enter; those who supported them had, when necessary, special illegal privileges provided to facilitate their admission, as in the case of the French minority, where despite Tuesday's vote, the standing orders were ridden through rough shod, to meet their wishes. When Singer and Liebknecht could not be present at the Congress, the Congress—as on Wednesday morning—was not allowed to meet. To me all this is hateful as being anti-democratic and a real menace to the Socialist movement. Freedom can only be begotten of freedom, and injustice can but bring forth injustice. These sentiments may not be—are not, I know—of the revolutionary order, but they are mine; and if the I.L.P. has any distinct mission in this country they will be found to be its sentiments also. The Labour movement is too big to be bossed by a clique in the interests of a section.

⁂

It is self-evident that a Congress on the present lines is largely a farce. Nearly 1000 delegates come together and find the arrangements such that discussion of big questions is impossible. What it seems to me would be an ideal arrangement would be something as follows: That the delegates assemble on the first day of the Congress and agree upon a series of sectional congresses for say three days. Thus, the Trade-unionists would meet in their own hall and discuss their own questions; the Social Democrats in another; the Free Communists (including the co-operators) in a third; the Anarchists in a fourth. Then on the fifth day the whole united Congress should meet to receive and consider reports from each division. In this way friction would be avoided, the gathering would be international in every sense of the word, and a very few such gatherings would, I am convinced, bring the entire Labour movement into line, and present a solid front to the enemy. So long as every one is penned off from his neighbour, unprejudiced consideration of each other's opinions is impossible, and personal wrangling takes the place of fair debate.

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Next Congress will, I believe, show considerable improvement on this. Sidney Ollivier's resolution in favour of having all credentials referred to a commission is excellent, and will remove from the floor of the Congress one of the most controversial topics. Besides, a commission can, if it will, deal fair, and ascertain the truth when credentials are disputed, which is more than can be said of the Congress itself. Then, again, some reform in the system of voting is urgently needed. Voting by nationalities won't do. Dr. Aveling produces a letter from someone in N.S. Wales on the strength of which he is allowed to sit and vote, and he thereby acquires a power equal to the whole of the 472 British delegates. In future also a strong stand must be made for *official* interpreters. The Avelings are strongly partisan, as is also Adolphe Smith, and by the turn of a phrase, or by putting in or leaving out emphasis can say practically what they please when translating. I.L.P. members may be interested to know that their organisation is suspect by the Avelings and their friends. At the Sunday Peace Demonstration it was only after a struggle that Tom Mann's name was put on the list of speakers, whilst that of Keir Hardie was kept off. There will be the usual quibble to explain this, but had the I.L.P. officials not been fighting the cast-iron Bismarckism of the Germans, no quibble would have kept them off. Then at the Queen's Hall meeting on the Thursday, James Mawdesley was in the chair for the Trades-unionists, H. M. Hyndman spoke for the S.D.F., and J. H. Wilson, presumably, for the Labour Electoral Association, whilst no I.L.P.er was asked to take part. The arrangements for these meetings were made before the Congress met, and therefore nothing which took place could account for the omission.

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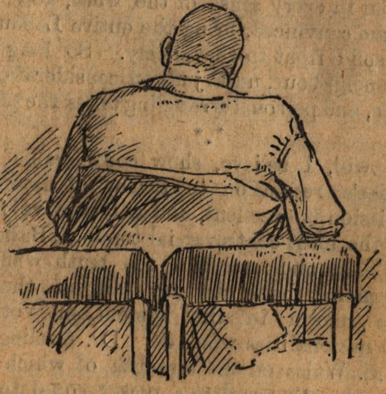
There is much one would like to say, but space and time alike forbid. The discipline of the S.D.F. was perfect, and those who believe in rigidity could not but admire it. I don't profess to believe in it, and feel sure that it works harm in the end. Several times during the Congress the I.L.P. and S.D.F. fraternised and got to know and to understand each other better than ever before. One thing more I must add: Our friends of the S.D.F. need have no misconception about a split in the I.L.P. over the Anarchist question. The question will be discussed, certainly, and however the discussion may go, individuals will still be left free to hold their opinions. The I.L.P. is too big for a split—has too much breadth. Some members may leave, and were I in an uncharitable mood—which at the moment I am not—I would say a good thing for the I.L.P. if they did.—Keir, in the *Labour Leader*.



A Monopolist (back view).